

**EDUCATIVE LEADERSHIP IN INDIGENOUS SCHOOLS:  
THEORIES OF LEADERSHIP IN USE IN SELECTED SCHOOLS IN  
CANADA, AUSTRALIA, AND NEW ZEALAND**

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Submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy

University of Tasmania  
November, 1999

## **DECLARATION**

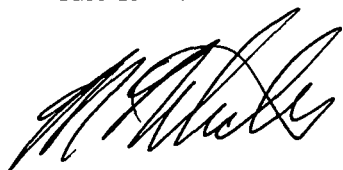
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## **ABSTRACT**

This is a study of the nature of educative leadership in indigenous schools in Canada, New Zealand, and Australia. Principals, as educative leaders, serve the vital function of developing and maintaining school climates that promote conditions for effective learning. Extensive research has been conducted in teaching, learning, and curriculum development in indigenous schools. There has been, however, little research into the theory or practice of leadership in indigenous schools. Research indicating low success rates of indigenous students suggests that they and the schools they attend have unique needs. It can be argued that student success is a function of school effectiveness in promoting learning. Principals have key roles in this process. Thus, it is important that the nature of educative leadership in indigenous schools is better understood. This study was therefore undertaken to contribute to theory building in this area, inform administrative practice, and influence the preparation of principals for indigenous schools to better serve the learning needs of their students and colleagues.

The literature in this area suggested that the contexts of indigenous education share many features. Indigenous world views and the epistemologies conveyed within them are strikingly similar. Stemming from shared epistemological elements are analogous ways of learning, teaching, decision-making, leading, and organising. Comparable relationships between indigenous peoples and Europeans and successions of similar overlapping policy periods were also found.

An interpretive research approach was adopted. Qualitative and ethnographic methods were combined with case study analysis to elicit and analyse the perceptions of school leaders. Field research conducted in 1996 involved interviews with principals, participants, and stakeholders during study visits to each of four selected schools in British Columbia, Auckland, and Northern Territory.

Constructs and categories emerged from the analysis of field data. Descriptions of events, actions and utterances of educative leaders were analysed to ascertain common themes. Dominant themes and the values that supported them were identified at each site. National and international sites were aggregated for commonalities and the touchstone of educative leadership in indigenous schools identified.



A suite of interrelated theories of educative leadership-in-use were then derived from the themes common to all sites. These provisional theories were justified using an eclectic approach influenced by the criteria for generating and evaluating grounded theory, building theory from case-study research, and a coherentistic approach to theory selection and justification.

Of the major themes to emerge across all sites, the importance of the local culture was the paramount meta-value. Cultural maintenance and reproduction were primary purposes of each school. Common theories of educative leadership-in-use included respecting the meta-value of the local culture; managing the school as a site of local cultural negotiation and reproduction; incorporating indigenous ways of teaching, organising, and decision making into the school; and serving as a bridge between cultures.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

I have many people in many places to thank for their contributions and support so generously offered throughout this research. I am indebted to the principals who welcomed me into their schools and trusted me with their honesty, to my supervisors who guided me, to my colleagues and friends who had patience for me, and to librarians everywhere.

I am grateful to Professor John Williamson of the University of Tasmania and Professor Reynold Macpherson of the University of Auckland for their supervisory expertise throughout this project. Without Professor Macpherson's insistence and confidence this journey would have never begun.

I thank the Northern Territory Department of Education, the University of the Northern Territory, and the University of Auckland for generously offering access to information and resources over and above what could reasonably be expected.

This project drew from many wells of wisdom. The major contributors to this research had enormously demanding schedules. I was humbled by the interest they showed in my research and the time they made available to answer my questions. I thank Ernie Hill, Larry Finden, Keith Spencer, Bob LeGoff, Greg Louie, Te Ao Biddle, Hera Johns, Pat Heremaia, Sister Anne Gardiner, Maureen Trindle, the Milimika Group, Miriam Rose Baumann, David Sutton, Peter Jones, Graham Smith, Linda Smith, Alan Russ, Jo Howse, Sun Hyung Park, Pat Coles, Toby Curtis, Art More, and Paul Hughes for trusting me and sharing with me their wisdom.

The editorial advice of Gordon Milne, Louise Burgart, Charlene Seguin, Tom Cassidy, David and Pam Gregg helped to refine the final form of this study. I am particularly appreciative of the editorial work done by Cheryl Pershall for her thorough scrutiny of the final draft.

I am grateful for the financial support provided by School District No. 91 (Nechako Lakes) and for my family's support in words and deeds throughout this odyssey.

Last, and smallest, my partner, Joyce Upex, helped keep me on task enough to complete this project and off task enough to maintain my balance. Her eye was the most critical and her suggestions the most helpful. To her, and to the others mentioned above, I am deeply appreciative.

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# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

This study explored the nature of educative leadership in indigenous schools in Canada, New Zealand, and Australia to determine what attributes, if any, of such leadership are shared among culturally and geographically disparate indigenous communities. A desired outcome of this research was the identification of theories of educative leadership in use in indigenous schools. Site-based, national, and international patterns were identified and expressed as themes. Theories were then reconstructed from these themes. The values that underpinned the purposes of education at each site and the values that educative leaders used to justify their actions were also analysed.

Research on indigenous learners suggests that they and the schools they attend have unique needs (Barnhardt & Harrison, 1993; Coombs, Brandl, & Snowdon, 1994; Wearne, 1986). In meeting these unique needs, distinctive teaching strategies and learning styles have to be taken into consideration (Hughes, More, & Williams, 1995; Harris, 1990). It follows that different ways of educative leadership may also have to be considered (MacNeill, 1985). However, although countless innovations have been implemented and several decades of research have been conducted into ways of learning and teaching in indigenous schools, the theory and practice of leadership in such schools has received little attention. Assuming that school leaders influence teaching and learning in schools (Fullan, 1991), and are key to the success of a school as measured by the successes of its students (DuFour & Eaker, 1998), the area of leadership is too important to be neglected.

What is presently known and acted upon regarding the schooling of indigenous students has not been effective at resolving disparities in educational outcomes between indigenous and non-indigenous learners. Contributing to what is known about the principalship in these schools could lend insight and understanding into ways in which schools can better serve the learning needs of indigenous students.

The task of educative leadership is complex. With an appreciation for the interplay of many levels of values, contrasting worldviews, and differences in theoretical foundations, the task of leadership in an indigenous school would appear to be more complex than in a mainstream school.

In the process of this study I conducted a search of the literature on First Nations education in Canada, Aboriginal education in Australia, and Maori education in New Zealand. I also met with scholars and practitioners working in the field. According to the information these sources provided, this is the first study of its kind to be conducted.

This chapter serves several purposes in addition to introducing the topic. The justification for this topic and the approach taken are also clarified. The remainder of the chapter provides a description of the layout of the thesis.

## **Thesis Overview**

This thesis has eight chapters in which the context of the research, the rationale for its undertaking, the methodological approach taken, the findings, and the analysis and discussion of those findings are presented.

Two levels of the context of the study are presented in Chapter Two. The first briefly contextualises the problem of educative leadership in indigenous schools in terms of my personal experience. The second examines the broader historical, national, regional, and contemporary settings in which the research was conducted. Initially shaped by the same policies of the Colonial Office in London, relationships between indigenous and non-indigenous peoples in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand continued to share many features long after each country gained independence. Independent policies enacted in each country produced comparable patterns of annihilation, assimilation, integration, and self-determination.

Education has been at the heart of indigenous peoples' efforts for self-determination for several decades (Barman, Hébert, & McCaskill, 1995; Harker & McConnochie, 1985). The lack of theory to guide administrative decision making and further develop leadership capacity in indigenous educational settings must be redressed if the notion of self-determination, so desperately sought for, is to be realised. This research sought to advance that agenda.

Although little has been written about educative leadership in indigenous settings, aspects of the education of indigenous peoples and their world views and the epistemologies conveyed within them have been described extensively. Certainly, an enormous body of literature has been, and continues to be, dedicated to leadership and administration in educational settings. As well, theorising in Educational Administration has been evolving since the first edition of Simon's *Administrative Behavior* was published in 1945. A review of these areas of literature is provided in Chapter Three.

An overview of what was known about (a) world views, ways of teaching, learning, and organising in indigenous settings, (b) literature on the principalship, and (c) theory development in Educational Administration is also presented. Placed in juxtaposition, it became evident that literature on the principalship and theorising in Educational Administration has been neither informed by, or written for informing, theory and practice in indigenous contexts.

Indigenous world views and epistemologies, although variously and locally defined in the literature, consistently and collectively stood in sharp contrast with the philosophical underpinnings of theory development in Educational Administration. Polarised to the point of contradiction (Christie, 1987), the differences between indigenous and Western European ways of knowing, being, and valuing have been the source of much misunderstanding between indigenous and non-indigenous peoples.

The influence of indigenous world views on ways of organising, teaching, and learning, has been described at length in the literature (Hughes & More, 1993; Hampton, 1995; Smith, 1992b). However, non-indigenous classroom teachers have given little consideration to this influence (Harris, 1990). Furthermore, a search of the literature failed to reveal any evidence of such consideration in theories of educative leadership or in principal preparation programs. Nevertheless, through the course of this research, indications emerged that some theoretical, philosophical, and methodological approaches developed outside of indigenous contexts might be beneficial in such settings. These approaches are identified in the literature reviewed in Chapter Three and further supported following the analysis of field research data examined and discussed in Chapters Six and Seven.

## **Methodology**

The methodology used to conduct this research is described in Chapter Four. Field research was used to investigate the nature of educative leadership in indigenous schools to ascertain common themes and theories in use. The research design was a multi-site case study employing ethnographic field techniques, such as participant and non-participant observation and semi-structured and structured interviews. Four schools were selected in each international setting at which week-long periods were spent interviewing and observing leaders in action to understand and explain local notions of educative leadership. Data were gathered from the selected sites in each country and analysed for common constructs, patterns, and themes. The constant comparative method of data collection and analysis (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) was used to combine

the coding of emergent categories and their properties with theory formulations during data analysis. This process also helped determine the extent of touchstone, that is, shared commonalities across international contexts.

A non-foundational, pragmatic epistemology facilitated analysis and interpretation of data. Foundational epistemologies restrict the justification of knowledge claims to foundations such as empirical evidence, personal experience, or compatibility with a particular partitionist paradigm (Walker, 1992). Thus, in this study, opportunities to accept knowledge claims eclectically and non-preferentially (Evers & Lakomski, 1991) were maximised. The inclusion of pragmatism allowed for the provisional acceptance of the theory that made the most sense under the most circumstances (Hoy, 1994). This arbitration or reconciliation of contested knowledge claims allowed for the theories that emerged from the research to be evaluated in several ways.

An eclectic approach was used to generate and to evaluate theories of educative leadership in use. This approach was influenced by Strauss and Corbin's (1990) criteria for generating and evaluating grounded theory and Eisenhardt's (1989) strategy for theory building from case-study research. Evers and Lakomski's (1991 & 1995) research on the coherentist approach to theory selection and justification further informed this process.

Two interview schedules (Appendix D, p. 262 & Appendix E, p. 263) were designed to gather data. The research questions, the theoretical framework, and an analysis of recurrent themes in the literature shaped these schedules. In addition, following the advice of Bogdan and Bilken (1982), the interview schedules were modified as questions emerged during the course of the field research. The interviews adhered to a process that entailed at least two, and usually three, tape recorded semi-structured interviews (Seidman, 1991).

## **Findings**

An overview of the findings gathered during the field research is presented in Chapter Five. The reader is taken from site to site, and introduced to each setting and key participants. Each school community and principal are briefly described. Also presented are principals' responses to the interview schedules, and their opinions and perspectives concerning their schools, and the nature of educative leadership within them. The perspectives of participants are heard in their own voices through frequent, and often lengthy quotations.

An analysis and synthesis of data gathered during the field research is offered in Chapter Six. The nature of the leadership services provided in each setting are revealed through an analysis of

the constructs and patterns conveyed by the actions, utterances and ceremonies described in the previous chapter. This process facilitated the identification of dominant themes and values at each site and national context. Themes from international sites were aggregated and a pattern of common, interrelated themes was extrapolated. Thus, the attributes of leadership shared across culturally and geographically disparate indigenous school communities were identified. Hodgkinson's (1978, 1983, 1991, & 1996) research on value analysis was used extensively to analyse the dominant values underlying the purposes of each school and the values that principals used to justify their actions.

The common themes identified through an analysis of synthesis of data described in Chapters Five and Six are reconstructed as theories in Chapter Seven. This process is guided by literature on theory development and theory justification (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Eisenhardt, 1989; Strauss & Corbin, 1990; Evers & Lakomski, 1991 & 1995). The relevance of previous theory development in Educational Administration is discussed in relation to theories in use in indigenous schools. Subsidiary issues arising from the research are reviewed and recommendations for further investigation are also made in this chapter.

The final chapter of this study, Chapter Eight, provides a summary of the findings. Tentative conclusions are drawn and practical and theoretical implications of the research are also presented.

### **Naming of Peoples in This Study**

In the process of writing about and researching indigenous issues, the naming of peoples is a sensitive matter. Nomenclatural preferences tend to be locally defined and vary from one community to the next. Broadly speaking, 'indigenous' signifies native to, or naturally present in an area. The term 'aboriginal' refers to the first inhabitants of a land or, in colonialist contexts, those peoples who were living in a land before the arrival of Europeans. When used to refer to the first peoples to inhabit a place, 'indigenous' and 'aboriginal' are essentially synonymous terms. By definition, members of the three indigenous groups referred to in this study are all aboriginal peoples. However, with respect to naming, conventions of common usage and self-referencing dictate otherwise. The indigenous people of Canada refer to themselves as First Nations, Indians, Métis, Inuit, Natives, Aboriginals, or by the name of their nation or tribe. "First Nations" is emerging as the preferred form in the literature (Friesen, 1997). Therefore, "First Nations" is used in this study. Furthermore, consistent with common usage, "First Nations" will be used without

an apostrophe when indicating possession. Indigenous people of New Zealand and Australia refer to themselves in a similar fashion. They will be referred to as Maori and Aboriginal or Aborigines respectively in this study.

The naming of non-indigenous people in these contexts is equally difficult. The blanket term “European” is hardly appropriate for non-indigenous people of European, African or Asian descent whose ancestors migrated to Canada, Australia, and New Zealand between 100 and 500 years ago. “Settler” (Young-Ing, 1988), non-aboriginal, non-native, non-First Nations, and non-indigenous are often-used descriptors in each national context. In New Zealand the word ‘Pakeha’ is used to designate fair skinned New Zealanders of European descent. This study will adopt such conventions.

### **Summary**

This first chapter served the purposes of introducing and previewing the study. The rationale for conducting the research was also established. The next chapter more thoroughly delineates the context of the study.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **STUDY BACKGROUND**

**“Educating is a political activity.”**

Harker & McConnochie, 1985

#### **Introduction**

In this chapter the study is set in context. First considered is how the problem of educative leadership in indigenous schools presented itself in my personal experience. Second is an examination of the broader historical, national, regional, and contemporary settings in which the research was conducted. The Colonial Office in London shaped the histories of relationships between indigenous and non-indigenous peoples in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand long before their respective independent governments were established. Following comparable patterns of annihilation, assimilation, integration, and self-determination, similar government policy rhetoric of equity was shared across each national realm.

#### **The Problem**

The ideas that initiated this research germinated in Papua New Guinea two decades ago when I was a secondary teacher in provincial high schools. I found it interesting that anyone, national or expatriate, wishing to get a qualification in educational administration, left Papua New Guinea and spent several years in either Australia, the United Kingdom, United States, or some other Western, industrialised nation. Returning to Papua New Guinea with graduate degrees, these people were virtually guaranteed promotion into positions of increased influence and responsibility. The relevance of a credential for administering education in Australia, the United Kingdom or elsewhere was unquestioned for the Papua New Guinean education context. Indeed, in the late 1970's, Papua New Guinea's secondary system, including curriculum content and delivery, evaluation criteria, and school organisation, was largely adopted from Australia. Furthermore, until the mid 1980's, most administrators and teachers at the secondary level were expatriates. It was reasonable then, that an Australian model of administration was deemed appropriate for an imported Australian system.



Even so, it seemed odd that there was little questioning of both the wholesale importation of a Western, industrialised model of schooling and of the credentialling process for administrative preparation for such a model. It caused me to wonder if one of the major functions of education was being naively overlooked or strategically employed. Education is not culturally detached. "It has always been a function of education to transmit the culture of the society in which it occurs" (Hodgkinson, 1991, p. 25). Clearly then, there were contradictions in ends inherent in importing such institutions and structures. Such contradictions were particularly conspicuous in a country of such long-established cultural diversity. Why, I wondered, were such sharp contrasts in cultures, world views, and ways of knowing between Papua New Guineans and Australians, or others, not taken into consideration in the importation of something as ideologically charged and culturally specific as education?

Following several years of teaching and administrative experience in Papua New Guinea I returned to Canada and earned an Master of Arts degree in Educational Administration. There I became familiar with the largely monolithic, prescriptive models and theories of educational administration. Though there were heated paradigm wars waging on all fronts, these competing metatheoretical assumptions, in their seeming diversity, shared the common feature of having been developed by Western scholars for analysis of Western organisations (Harber, 1993). There were no organisation theorists from developing countries writing about organisation theory in developing countries (Newton, 1985). I was soon to find other gaps in organisational theorising.

After studying educational administration as a graduate student I assumed a position in the interior of British Columbia working at the secondary level with First Nations students. It occurred to me then, without a research base beyond my own personal experience, that the world views of First Nations peoples had much in common with that of Papua New Guineans and little with those of the dominant Canadian society. The social, interpersonal, and spatial mapping (Schatzman & Strauss, 1973), used by First Nations peoples resembled that used by Papua New Guineans. By this I mean that in my experience of these cultural groups, people had a strong sense of identity as a member of a group in a particular place, relationships appeared more important than things, and time was not divided by a digital razor into arbitrary segments, but used to measure real events in the observable world.

In addition to comparable world views, they shared other similarities. Sharing similar nomenclatural designations, the Third World status of Papua New Guinea and Fourth World referent (Young, 1995) for Canadian First Nations peoples reflects similar patterns of colonialism

and neo-colonialism. Both were subjected to the Western, industrial model of schooling with all its curricular and ideological trappings. In light of such domination, Barnhardt & Harrison, (1993), suggested that “educational initiatives of indigenous people in Fourth World situations have originated from similar conditions and are confronting similar struggles for legitimacy that have faced Third World countries following independence” (p. 93).

There were, however, differences between the conditions confronting Papua New Guineans and those facing Canadian First Nations. Unlike Papua New Guineans who comprised the vast majority of the population and had sovereign control over their own country, Canadian First Nations peoples were “involuntary minorities” (Ogbu, 1987) in their own land, still struggling to find their place in Canadian society after more than 400 years of colonialism. A consequence of their visible and “legal” (Frideres, 1993, p. 28) minority status made comparisons with the greater Canadian population possible with respect to educational outcomes. Rudimentary comparisons indicated that First Nations students did not enjoy the same rates of success in schooling as did other members of Canadian society.

I then set out to expand my understanding of education and First Nations peoples. A preliminary search of the literature indicated research having been done in the areas of teaching and learning (Hughes & More, 1993; Stairs, 1995). Curriculum development, as well, was widespread to the extent that “curriculum products have been developed in almost every locality” (Barman, Hébert & McCaskill, 1994, p. 2). However, nothing could be found relating to administration and leadership in First Nations schools. This area was too important to be neglected.

Having heard of innovative developments in Aboriginal education in Australia and Maori education in New Zealand, I spread the net wider and used additional descriptors: ‘indigenous’, ‘Maori’, ‘Aboriginal’, ‘administration’, ‘leadership’, and ‘education’ to search various data bases. Although expanded, these searches, too, were unable to locate any such research having been done in indigenous contexts. However, the need for it had certainly been identified.

MacNeill (1985), inspired by the work of T. B. Greenfield in the early 1980’s, echoed the widespread questioning of the one-best-method of education for Australian Aboriginal students. He suggested that “it is most likely the case also that school principals need to adopt an administrative style which is significantly different from that employed in urban, middle-class schools” (p. 3). However, in spite of the “collapse of the one-best-system of administration”

(MacNeill, p. 4), little had been done with respect to researching other models of administration and leadership in schools. Hence, following the advice of Newton (1985),

Having raised questions about the validity of transferring developed-world models and skills in educational administration to the developing world, I would insist that the first order of business for institutions in the developing world is to profile school administrators in their own settings. The planning of professional development and preparation programmes requires an indigenous knowledge base about the realities of school administration in a given context. (p. 10)

I set about to articulate theories of educative leadership in use in indigenous schools.

### **Transnational Disparities in Educational Success**

In each of Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, indigenous peoples experience similarly low levels of success in school. However, before presenting statistical evidence to support the above statement, a few words of caution are in order with respect to the validity of such statistics. Mackay and Myles (1995) described how the lack of consistency of retention rates among First Nations students across each province in Canada made it dangerous to generalise about Aboriginal education based on aggregate statistics (p. 160). The same danger holds true for generalising about success rates among indigenous students. Methods of reporting and data gathering vary across international and regional locations. Furthermore, Grade 12 completion does not imply the same course completion. With these reservations in mind, the following statistical information was taken from official government sources.

A Canadian Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (1996) found that 25% of First Nations students who entered Grade 8 were enrolled in Grade 12 four years later. Graduation figures would have reflected an even smaller percentage of First Nations students who graduated from Grade 12 in that year. Such 'success rates' meant that the experience of schooling was one of failure rather than success for some 80% of First Nations students. This figure approximated the inverse of the greater Canadian population.

Australian figures for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples paralleled those of Canadian First Nations above. "Nationally, just over 25% of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students who started Year Seven or Year Eight five or four years ago (depending on the State or Territory) were enrolled in Year 12 in 1993" (Australian Government Publishing Service, 1994 p. 23). The highest levels of educational attainment for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people aged 15 years and over, who had left school, were:

17% had obtained a post-school educational qualification;  
7% had obtained the Year 12 School Certificate;  
29% had obtained the Year 10 School Certificate; and  
48% attained schooling below Year 10 or had no formal qualification. (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1994, p. 34)

Statistics New Zealand in *Labour Market 1995* showed that 54% of Maori had no formal qualification (A. McLaren, personal communication, January 24, 1997). New Zealand Ministry of Education (D. Patterson, personal communication, February 26, 1997) provided figures which indicated that Maori students' secondary school retention rates were half that of the overall population and achieved roughly 20% of the top-end graduation rates as the total population. A Ministry (1997) document stated, "huge differences between retention rates for Maori and non-Maori still exist" (p. 51). Furthermore, "this evidence of an increasing disparity in Form 7 (equivalent to Grade 12 in Canada) retention rates for Maori and non-Maori students is a worrying development" (p. 51).

Even a cautious acceptance of the above comparative figures presents a corresponding picture of indigenous peoples' success rates in each country. Over and above comparative figures on the educational performance of Australian Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal students, and New Zealand Maori and non-Maori, Harker and McConnochie (1985) delineated these similarities on other grounds. They contended that such similarities went beyond performance indicators to "the underlying forces, assumptions and ideologies that have molded the patterns of culture contact in both nations" (p. 8). In this study I extended their argument to the Canadian context as well. The following sections of this chapter place the education of these indigenous peoples in their respective historical and regional contexts.

### **Colonialism in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand: An Overview**

The histories of colonialism in these three Commonwealth countries are extremely complex. Numerous approaches to understanding these histories continue to be contested by scholars. No effort is made in this study to provide a comprehensive review of the topic. Such a review is outside the research focus for this study. However, an understanding of indigenous education requires some knowledge of the historical relationships between indigenous people and those who colonised them. Therefore, what follows are broad brush-stroked pictures whose purposes are to provide contextual overviews. Armitage's (1995) comparative study of the policy of Aboriginal

Assimilation in Australia, Canada, and New Zealand was a major contributor to the organisation of the following sections.

### **Canada: Colonial and National Context**

The relationship between Canadian First Nations peoples and Europeans began in the 1530's when French explorers first arrived in eastern Canada. In order to provide a concise presentation of a relationship more than 450 years old I sought to divide that relationship into more manageable measures of time. Armitage (1995) divided the history of Canadian Indian Policy into six periods:

1. early contact, 1534 - 1763;
2. the Royal Proclamation, 1763 - 1830;
3. from Royal Proclamation to Canadian social policy, 1830 - 1867;
4. assimilation, 1867 - 1950;
5. integration, 1950 - present; and
6. assertion of self-government, 1970 - present. (p. 70)

During the period of early contact both the French and the English depended heavily on the good will, generosity, and skills of First Nations peoples to enable them to survive and prosper in a vast, uncharted wilderness. Ultimately, First Nations peoples were crucial allies in a war that resulted in the French surrendering control of Canada to the British. While First Nations peoples contributed to the booming fur trade, settlers poured across the land, trading increased, and missions were established to civilise and Christianise the indigenous population.

The period of Royal Proclamation began after the British defeated the French in the war of 1755 - 1763 for control over Canada, and lasted until 1830. The Royal Proclamation was essentially an act of British law that established a unified approach throughout the North American colonies to all political and economic relations and boundary negotiations with First Nations peoples. An Indian Department was established and a superintendent of Indian Affairs appointed.

The 1837 House of Commons Select Committee on Aborigines was the cornerstone of the transitional period from Royal Proclamation to Canadian social policy between 1830 - 1867. The task of the Select Committee was to embed a uniform vision of British imperialism into policies that dictated relationships with indigenous peoples in all the colonies of the empire. Armitage (1995) introduced his monograph with an excerpt from the Select Committee that summed up its position.

It is not to be doubted that this country has been invested with wealth and power, with arts and knowledge, with the sway of distant lands and the mastery of restless waters for some great purpose in the government of the world. Can we suppose otherwise

than that it is our office to carry civilization and humanity, peace and good government, and above all the knowledge of the true God, to the uttermost ends of the earth? (p. 3)

Other features of this period were the decline in the importance of First Nations peoples as military allies and the increasing interest of churches in converting and civilising them.

The assimilation period spanned from the date of Confederation in 1867 until 1950. Amended and revised many times over the years, the first Indian Act, passed in 1876, consolidated a previous series of policies and acts governing First Nations affairs. This act defined what it meant to be 'Indian' and made numerous provisions regarding First Nations peoples involvement in Canadian society. Any customs or practices thought to interfere with the goal of assimilation were outlawed in this period. Shortly after the Indian Act was passed, under pressure by missionaries, the Canadian government banned the Potlatch (food and gift exchange ceremony) and the Sun Dance or 'Thirst Dance' (religious ritual) (Dickason, 1994). Speaking traditional languages in schools was forbidden and resulted in punishment (Frideres, 1993). Residential schools flourished as thousands of children were taken from their families in a mass effort to diminish the 'negative' influence of First Nations values, and more effectively assimilate them into Canadian society. Though closed since the 1970's, the scars of First Nations residential schools continued in the 1990's to run deep in the Canadian psyche. Conditions in some of these schools at the turn of the century were abominable. Noted for their high mortality rates, Kirkness and Bowman (1992) cited a turn of the century estimate "that fifty percent of the children who passed through these schools did not live to benefit from the education that they had received therein" (p. 10).

The period of integration, though remaining assimilationist, began with the 1951 Indian Act. This act aimed to integrate services to First Nations peoples with services to all Canadians. It ended the policy of segregated education and enabled the federal government to make arrangements with the provinces for allowing First Nations children to attend provincial schools. It was during this period, in 1960, that First Nations peoples were given the right to vote and were granted citizenship.

Though the ideologies of assimilation and integration continued, the official period of integration culminated in 1969 in a White Paper, the *Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy*. This White Paper, presented under the auspices of creating a 'just society' (in which Indians would become equal participants), set out to remove all legislative and

constitutional bases of discrimination. First Nations peoples were to participate equally and receive the same services, including education, as all other members of Canadian society. The federal government was to be freed from responsibility for First Nations affairs by abolishing the Department of Indian Affairs and dismantling the reserve system (Barman et al. 1995, p. 15).

Viewed by one First Nations leader as a “thinly disguised programme of extermination through assimilation” (Barman et al., 1995, p. 15), the White Paper was seen as a way for the federal government to abrogate its responsibilities for land claims and past injustices. First Nations peoples across Canada rallied together against the White Paper. From that day forth they have spoken with one voice for more control over their destiny. Thus the period of self-government began in 1970.

An articulate response to the White Paper was a position paper issued by the National Indian Brotherhood in 1972, a ‘Red Paper,’ *Indian Control of Indian Education*. Control of education was seen by First Nations peoples as being crucial to self-government and self-determination. Parental responsibility and local control of education were two principles set forth in this paper. “Only Indian peoples can develop a suitable philosophy of education based on Indian values adapted to modern living. . . . Until now, decisions on the education of Indian children have been made by anyone and everyone, except Indian parents” (Barman, Hébert, & McCaskill, 1994, p. 2). Barman et al. (1994) also noted that these two principles “continue to shape educational initiatives at all levels as Indian people become increasingly active participants in the education of their children” (p. 2). In 1973 the federal government accepted in principle as national policy *Indian Control of Indian Education*, shelved the White Paper, and rescinded the proposal to turn responsibilities for First Nations education over to the provinces. This began a new era of relationships between First Nations peoples and the rest of Canada.

### **Contemporary Trends in First Nations Education**

Immediately following the acceptance of *Indian Control of Education*, the federal government set in motion fiscal and administrative machinery to give First Nations peoples more control over education. Regional First Nations cultural centres were developed across the country. First Nations education training programmes were funded at universities. The National Indian Brotherhood grew into a national lobbying organisation and assisted budding First Nations organisations across the country for more than a decade. First Nations communities were given federal permission to develop their own models of education and were given opportunities to

increased control over their children's schools. Bands began applying to operate their own schools. In 1975 - 1976 fifty-three communities had assumed control of their schools. By 1991 - 1992 that number had increased to 329 (Battiste, 1995, p. viii). The National Indian Brotherhood was replaced by a more representative body, the Assembly of First Nations (AFN) in 1982.

Developed by chiefs, the intention of the AFN was to represent the needs and wishes of the 50 major aboriginal nations across Canada. Frideres (1993) described the ideological stance of the AFN.

The AFN takes the position that First Nations have the right to self-government, and that this right exists as an inherent Aboriginal right that has never been surrendered, relinquished or diminished by any formal treaty or agreement or by the Constitution, legislation or policies of non-Indian governments in Canada. (p. 300)

In recent decades, nationally and provincially, there have been many changes effecting First Nations education at all levels of government. The driving force behind these changes was expressed in *Indian Control of Indian Education*.

If we are to avoid the conflict of values which in the past has led to withdrawal and failure, Indian parents must have control of education with the responsibility of setting goals. What we want for our children can be summarized very briefly: to reinforce their Indian identity [and] to provide the training necessary for making a good living in modern society. (Barman et al. 1994, p. 3)

In attempting to reinforce Indian identities, the purposes of education shifted from solely reproducing the culture of mainstream society to revitalising First Nations cultures. However, in combination with these purposes there was the economic purpose of providing training for gainful employment in the broader Canadian society. The result has been an increasingly bicultural focus in education in which aspects of traditional First Nations cultures are selected and then blended with aspects of modern Canadian society. As McCaskill (1994) noted, the ensuing "bicultural identity enables them to pursue the goals of both cultures" (p. 159).

If biculturalism is one of the broad purposes of First Nations education, most likely these schools will look somewhat different than other schools, and the teaching and learning that goes on in them will be different also. More to the point of this research, ways of administering and leading in these schools may also have to be different. Hence the purpose of this study was to articulate theories of educative leadership in use in indigenous schools. What do principals in these schools do to meet the purposes of the schools? How do they understand their roles in this process?



### **'Indian,' 'Band,' and 'Reserve' Defined**

While speaking of federal and provincial responsibilities for the education of First Nations students, it is important to mention the consequences of the definition of 'Indian' set out in the Indian Act of 1876. The Act provided a legal definition of 'Indian' and those people who satisfied the requirements of the definition were registered as Indians. Their names appear on a register maintained by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND). Essentially, being registered means a person is attached to a Band and on a roll in Ottawa. The fiscal responsibility for the education of such a person is a federal matter.

Over the years there have been many changes to the definition of 'Indian' and different criteria have been used to decide whether one is Indian or not. Generally, these various definitions and criteria have been overwhelmingly restrictive. Frideres (1993) noted that for a period in Canada's history an Indian who attained a certain level of education was taken off the registry. His descendants also lost their Indian status (p. 30). Brody (1988) described several other ways of losing one's Indian status. Prior to 1960 registered Indians could neither vote nor buy liquor. However, they could resign their status in exchange for permission to do both. Some Indians were offered money by the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs (DIAND) to leave their Bands. Extremely consequential, the Indian Act of 1978 legislated that Indian women who married white men lost their Band membership, as did their children (Boldt, 1993). Even though this did not apply to Indian men who married white women, this Act was responsible for ten of the twelve thousand Indians who lost their status between 1955 and 1975 (Brody, 1988, p. 27).

Aboriginal peoples in Canada are comprised of status Indians, non-status Indians, Métis and Inuit. More than half of Canada's one million aboriginal peoples are registered as status Indians and live on reserves (Frideres, 1993). The education of non-status Indians, usually those Indians living off reserves in urban centres, and Métis (the distinct group of people descended from early colonial communal relationships between First Nations peoples and European immigrants), is the responsibility of the provincial governments. The Inuit are the aboriginal peoples of the far north, once referred to as Eskimos. Though not included in the terms of the Indian Act, they are under federal jurisdiction.

'Band' refers to a group of Indians who share a common interest in land and money and whose historical connections are defined by the federal government (Frideres, 1993, p. 145). The way in which the federal government arbitrarily designates the term 'Band' to a group, or removes

it from a group, for administrative purposes, underscores the political nature of the term. Most status Indians belong to Bands that have Aboriginal rights to reserve lands held in common.

'Reserves' are parcels of land set aside by the federal government for the exclusive use of a Band. According to an authority on Native law in Canada, the extent of First Nations peoples' rights to the minerals, timber, water, and other natural resources on reserves is adjudicated by a complex interplay of Common Law, the Indian Act, and other statutes that ultimately restrict a Band's usage of reserve lands (J. Woodward, personal communication, March 19, 1997). Ranging in size from a few hectares to nearly a thousand square kilometres, there were 2241 reserves in Canada in 1993 (Frideres, 1993, p. 149). However, as with Bands, the number of reserves varies over time. Reserves are classified as urban, rural, remote, and special access depending on their proximity to service centres and availability of road access.

### **British Columbia**

The federal government negotiates its fiscal responsibility for the schooling of First Nations students through agreements with provincial and territory governments, public or separate school boards, and religious or charitable organisations. Matters of curricula, teacher certification, and grades within schools are the sole responsibilities of the provinces. Levin and Young (1994) noted that "Canada is the only industrialized country that has no federal office or department of education" (p. 48).

All the First Nations schools studied in British Columbia during this research were on reserves. One was urban, within 50 kilometers of a service centre and one was rural, located just beyond the limits of the urban designation. Two of the reserves were special access having no road access. The populations of each reserve, including the student populations at the schools, were composed entirely of status Indians. Education funding in each case was the result of a negotiated agreement, referred to as a Local Education Agreement (LEA), between school boards and/or local Band authorities and the federal government. Each school followed provincial curriculum and offered some locally developed courses.

Several universities in British Columbia have developed programmes specifically for the training of First Nations teachers. However, the demand for teachers continues to exceed the supply. Consequently, there are fewer First Nations teachers in First Nations schools than there are non-First Nations teachers. Furthermore, the criteria for university entrance entails Grade 12

completion and a high grade-point average in specified courses. The comparatively lower numbers of First Nations Grade 12 graduates is a factor in a vicious circle.

### **Australia: Colonial and National Context**

Though a much more recent phenomenon than in Canada, the colonial history of Australia is equally complex. Again, Armitage's (1995) policy periods are used in this section to navigate the complexity of Australian policy towards Aboriginal peoples. Four principal periods are outlined:

1. initial contact, 1788 - 1930;
2. protected status, 1860 - 1930;
3. assimilation, 1930 - 1970; and
4. integration with limited self-management, 1967 - present. (p. 14)

The broad period of initial contact, 1788 - 1930 expresses the vastness of Australia, the remoteness and isolation of some tribes of Aboriginal peoples, and the complexity and variations of contact throughout the country. Harker and McConnochie (1985) commented that "by the time some of the isolated, central Australian groups came into contact with Europeans, other groups (such as the Tasmanian Aborigines or some eastern coastal groups) had almost completely disappeared from the face of the earth" (p. 45).

Early colonial relationships between Europeans and Australian Aborigines differed from those in Canada in two important ways. One was the much later date of contact. The first formal contact between Europeans and Aborigines began with Captain Cook's arrival in 1770. The first settlers arrived, mostly convicts, and established a settlement at Sydney in 1788, more than 250 years after settlers began arriving in Canada. The other difference, perhaps even more consequential than the date of European contact, was that Australian Aborigines were not needed as military allies. Their military prowess was not acknowledged. Nor was their existence officially recognised. In spite of Aboriginal occupation of the Australian continent for perhaps fifty or sixty thousand years, the Colonial Office declared Australia 'Terra Nullus', or 'Empty Land' (Harrison, 1992). It was not until 1971 that Aborigines were counted in a census. Hence, the pattern of dispossession differed from that in Canada in that no negotiations were required or compensation offered for land claimed from Aborigines throughout colonial Australia.

As Aboriginal peoples were not 'officially' recognised, relationships between early colonisers and Aborigines were shaped at the discretion of the settlers. Therefore, there were wide variations across Australia in the forms those relationships took. However varied, from

being ignored to being exterminated, the outcomes were invariably disastrous. Aboriginal peoples were everywhere denied access to their traditional lands. The variations in relationships across Australia, due in part to the absence of a policy similar to the Royal Proclamation in Canada, were one of the main reasons for the formation of the 1837 House of Commons Select Committee on Aborigines. Further need for an overall policy on aboriginal peoples was at the same time becoming evident with the disorganised settlement of New Zealand.

The protected status period from 1860 - 1930 was a period in which the states and territories independently passed various acts to protect Aborigines from the negative aspects of their relationships with European immigrants. Beginning in 1869 in Victoria with the Aborigines Protection Act and ending in Northern Territory in 1910 with the Aborigines Act, these acts, under the thinly veiled guise of 'protection,' controlled every facet of everyday life for many Aborigines. During the latter half of the 19th century Aboriginal populations were declining at such a rate that they were considered a dying race. Through the protection acts many Aboriginal groups were forced to live on settlements, administered by managers. Although the expressed purposes of the settlements were to keep Aborigines alive and facilitate assimilation (Harker & McConnochie, 1985), at the rate Aborigines were dying, the settlements were regarded as providing a pillow for a dying race (Armitage, 1995).

The period of assimilation, 1930 - 1970 was largely a consequence of the failure of the protected status period. Far from dying out, Aborigines continued to survive and resist the loss of their land and traditional lifestyle. As in Canada with First Nations peoples, frustrations over failures to 'civilise' them resulted in government policies that outlawed initiation ceremonies and fragmented families by removing children for schooling.

Though Aborigines had not died off, the numbers of 'full-blood' Aboriginals were in some areas less than that of 'mixed-blood' Aboriginals. Thus, the policy period of assimilation was one in which Aborigines were made to live with non-Aboriginals with the hope that they would, over time, be indistinguishable from others of European descent. During this period, special efforts were made to remove thousands of children of mixed heritage from their Aboriginal families because it was presumed that these children would assimilate more readily into white Australian society than 'full-blood' Aboriginals. Later referred to as the 'Stolen Generations,' the forced removal of children from their families, and the consequences of it, became one of the key issues of the Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation established by the federal government in 1991.

The policy of assimilation was officially confirmed at a meeting of state and Commonwealth ministers in 1963 (Harker & McConnochie, 1985). This policy was displaced, perhaps more in name than in practice, in 1967 when Aboriginal peoples were included as citizens in the census. This began the period of integration with limited self-management. Major policy developments during this period included the 1980 formation of the Aboriginal Development Commission and the Commonwealth Department of Aboriginal Affairs. The policy of integration impacted on Aboriginal peoples in various ways across the Australian states and territories. Throughout Australia all services available to non-Aboriginal Australians were extended to Aboriginals. As in Canada, across Australia there is increasing acknowledgement, albeit reluctant in some areas, that Aboriginal peoples have a right to govern themselves and maintain their distinct cultural integrity.

### **Contemporary Trends in Australian Aboriginal Education**

Since the referendum was held in 1967 when the Australian population voted nearly unanimously to recognise the rights of Aboriginal peoples, there has been a steady movement toward Aboriginal control of Aboriginal affairs. Coombs (1994) summed up the essence of that movement.

Aborigines are developing the sense of a common identity, the institutions of political action and the intellectual and spiritual leadership which will give increasing authority to their claim to move along this way by their own efforts and at their own pace. Hope for the future lies essentially in their growing capacity to maintain these trends. (p. v)

Aboriginal control of Aboriginal education is one item on an integrated agenda of Aboriginal control of Aboriginal affairs. As with all indigenous peoples, the items on the agenda of self-determination can not easily be reduced to their component parts. And as with all indigenous peoples, land is a key item on the agenda. It is not surprising then, that Coombs (1994) began the following list of Aboriginal initiatives on the agenda of self-determination with the issue of land.

- reassert Aboriginal ownership of the land and its resources by claiming it, gaining access to it, by using and occupying it wherever this have been physically possible;
- reassert their cultural heritage and their right to maintain, express and develop it;
- maintain, formalise and adapt their control of the education and socialisation of their children to the changes in lifestyle forced upon them;
- diversify their sources of income, real and financial, and to demand a share in the proceeds of exhaustible resources; and
- create Aboriginal-controlled institutions to provide their own services and to manage their domestic and political affairs. (p. 160)

Aboriginal assertion of land ownership has taken many forms, from seeking legal claim to enormous tracts of land on behalf of a widespread language group, to seeking ownership of a relatively small area of land for a small collective. As in Canada with First Nations peoples, Aborigines were banded together into communities for several reasons:

- they had been forced by encroaching settlers off their traditional lands near springs and rivers;
- their population was being decimated by malnutrition, disease, and violence; and
- for the administrative convenience of the government to protect them from further harm and to manage their affairs.

Throughout the period of assimilation, particularly in the 1950's and 1960's, parcels of land were set aside and communities established across central and northern Australia.

However, including the loss of independence and spiritual connections with the land, these artificial groupings of peoples created situations and tensions beyond the limits of traditional social relationships and structures to resolve (Rowse, 1992). By the early 1970's many Aboriginal people felt that they would be better off if they could lessen their dependence on government handouts and return to their traditional lands where the hunting and gathering was better. There they would resume caring for their sacred sites and thus strengthen their weakened spiritual relationship with the land. Hence, the homeland movement began as small, tribally-homogenous groups left the large communities and established themselves back in their traditional lands at 'homelands' or 'outstations' (Coombs, Brandl, & Snowdon, 1994). Providing opportunities for a reassertion of their cultural heritage and offering more independence and self-sufficiency than large communities, homeland centres continued to flourish into the 1990's.

Although posing logistical challenges for the delivery of education, the homelands movement coincided with a general recognition that education under the policy of assimilation was an abject failure.

The education provided for Aborigines when assimilation was the avowed objective met the test of success in so few instances that they could be ignored. As an instrument of assimilation educational practice was a failure. It tended to alienate the Aboriginal child from his or her family and community, to cause him to question and frequently to reject its values and its traditions; to destroy his Aboriginal identity and to leave him restless and alienated from his own society without giving the opportunity or the competence to join white society. (Coombs, 1978, p. 233)

Coombs (1978) briefly described three hypothetical models of education and their criteria for success for Aboriginal children.

- The success of the orthodox assimilationist model was determined by producing Aboriginal school leavers competent to take their place with others in a predominantly white society and accepting its values.
- An alternative assimilationist model in which Aboriginal children were equipped to live in their own society and embrace its values.
- An education which would enable Aboriginal children to live effectively in their own society and also to deal effectively with white society to the point that they would have a genuinely effective choice whether or not to be part of it in preference to their own. (p. 232).

It was the last model that eventually gained the most popularity among Aboriginal peoples.

By the early 1970's the call for more Aboriginal control of Aboriginal affairs was Pan-Australian. Concerns regarding the disparities between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal success and retention rates in schooling were being expressed in every state and territory. However, most activity and initiatives occurred in areas with large Aboriginal populations. Not surprisingly, the Northern Territory (NT), with the highest proportion of Aboriginal people in Australia, presented the most opportunities for Aboriginal control of Aboriginal affairs.

### **Northern Territory**

Aboriginal people make up nearly 27% of the total population of NT, a far greater proportion than any other state. Western Australia comes next with 2.8%, (*Year Book Australia 1996*, p. 81). Such a high Aboriginal proportion of the population combined with a willingness of the NT government to support innovations in Aboriginal schooling contributed to ongoing developments in Aboriginal education. Coinciding with the homelands movement and trends to revitalise Aboriginal culture, the first wave of major reform to impact Aboriginal schools in NT occurred shortly after a new Federal government in 1972 introduced a bilingual education programme into the territory. Involving Aboriginal teacher education, extensive vernacular programmes, curriculum development, and team teaching, by 1991 the bilingual programme operated in 17 languages in 22 schools (Harris, 1994, p. 141).

During the period in which the bilingual programme was being implemented, the notion of bicultural education began to be discussed. Known as 'both-ways' or 'two-way' schooling,

A two-way school should provide for the skills and knowledge from both cultures to be learned; all involving a source of knowledge, a style of doing things, and learning contexts which authentically match each body of learning. (Harris, 1990, p. 14)

By the mid 1990's there were numerous self-described two-way schools in NT. Developed with, and without, government support, the goal of two-way schools is to achieve a balance of measurable European outcomes with the reinforcement of the unique [Aboriginal] cultural identity (Willmetts, 1992, p. 129).

Across NT the 'Aboriginalisation of schooling' accelerated throughout the 1980's and into the 1990's. This acceleration was the result of a proliferation of Aboriginal organisations and numerous initiatives both at the system and school level and from inside and outside the system itself. At the policy level, Feppi (the NT Aboriginal Education Consultative Group), set up in 1978, advised the Minister for Education, the NT Department of Education, and had input into national education policy. Involvement in educational decision making at the school level, often at the insistence of parents and communities, has also been encouraged and facilitated by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander (ATSI) membership of school councils, action groups, and Aboriginal Student Support and Parent Awareness (ASSPA) groups.

Expanded teacher training programmes, additional professional development, research on learning and teaching, and curriculum development have further contributed to the Aboriginalisation of education in NT. Bachelor College, near Darwin, began training Aboriginal teachers in the 1970's. The programme grew, satellite campuses were created, and enrolments of trainee teachers increased through the mid 1990's. A comprehensive mentoring programme for supporting Aboriginal classroom teachers and executive teachers (principals) was sponsored by the NT Department of Education. According to one of its authors, the mentoring programme of the NT is without equal (Reaburn, 1997). Concurrent with the development of these programmes has been focused research on Aboriginal ways of learning and teaching (Hughes & More, 1993; Bell, 1988). There has also been a proliferation of curricula throughout the NT to the extent that some scholars have discussed the prospect of the Australian curriculum movement being open to, and influenced by, Aboriginal influences (Keefe, 1992, p. 41). Given the absence of departmentally-produced curricular materials specific for the languages and cultures of bilingual and bicultural schools, these schools have had to produce their own. Consequently, sophisticated curriculum and resource development departments have become established in some of these schools.

In 1993, a reference group, under the chairmanship of Mandawuy Yunupingu, was charged with overseeing a National Review of Education for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples (1994). In the summary and recommendations of the review, the preamble to the 44



recommendations identifies equity and reconciliation as the two principal themes to have emerged from the evidence presented to the review. Although the review acknowledged that more Aboriginal peoples are participating in education than ever before, “they do not participate in education to the extent that other Australians participate. . . . Aboriginal peoples and Torres Strait Islanders still do not enjoy equitable and appropriate outcomes from education” (p. 2). The review further stated that

Aboriginal peoples and Torres Strait Islanders must have equal opportunities to access and participate in any form of educational provision available to all Australians and that the education provided for Aboriginal peoples and Torres Strait Islanders must be culturally appropriate. (p. 3)

Notions of equity, reconciliation, equal opportunities to access and participation in education, all under a conditional umbrella of being culturally appropriate for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, must move beyond rhetorical discourse to be realised. Indeed, the scale of political and organisational change required goes beyond a change in administrative style, as MacNeill (1985) suggested. However, before political, organisational, and administrative structures are modified to accommodate equity and reconciliation considerations, it would seem reasonable to understand the practical and theoretical realities currently in use in Aboriginal educational contexts.

To this end, I selected Aboriginal schools for this research that were regarded as being exemplary in the ‘Aboriginal’ nature of their context, organisation and administration. The schools studied in this research were in the centre and northern areas of NT. One was a two-way school, one a bilingual school, and another a combination of both. All were attended solely by Aboriginal students from the surrounding areas.

### **New Zealand: Colonial and National Context**

British colonial relationships with the Maori officially began in the 1830’s, much later than in Canada and Australia. Further, it was a relationship with an indigenous people that spoke the same language across an area of land that was comparatively small. However, regardless of the recency of colonialism, the mono-lingual aspect of the Maori, and the relative small size of New Zealand, an enormously complex relationship developed that has yet to be resolved. This complexity arose in spite of previous lessons learned in other British colonial contexts and in spite of the reluctance and cautious thoroughness with which Britain enacted official policy with the

Maori. Once more, Armitage's (1995) demarcation of five Maori policy periods are used to facilitate their presentation in this study:

1. initial contact, 1769 - 1840;
2. the Treaty of Waitangi, 1840 - 1846;
3. assimilation, 1847 - 1960;
4. integration, 1960 - present; and
5. Maori resurgence, 1975 - present. (p. 136)

The unfavourable first impression New Zealand presented to Europeans by Tasman's discouraging loss of four men at the hands of hostile Maori on the South Island in 1642 (Walker, 1990) most likely contributed to the lack of exploration in the area until Cook's arrival in 1769. Cook found New Zealand had an established Maori population living in organised, and even fortified, communities engaged in fishing and agriculture. In light of some the disastrous consequences of colonisation in places like Canada and Australia, the British Colonial Office was reluctant to involve itself in a country clearly under the sovereign control of another group of people. However, Cook also found immense stands of timber and enormous herds of seals. Forthcoming seal hunters, whalers, timber men, and traders were not as reluctant as the British Colonial Office. Consequently, in the decades following Cook's visit, there was a constant influx of Europeans, mostly British, into New Zealand.

Early relationships between the Europeans and Maori were generally positive and favourable to both sides. Initially, greatly outnumbered, the Europeans needed the goodwill of the Maori to allow them to stay and their food to survive. European guns, iron, and cloth were traded for food, timber, and even land. Eventually, missionaries and settlers began arriving. By 1830 the impact of Europeans was evident. Introduced diseases, more effective weapons, and liquor had greatly reduced the Maori population. Disputes over land were common. The problems the Colonial Office actively tried to avoid had arrived without them.

Hence, with the knowledge that a tide of settlers would eventually descend upon New Zealand, the Colonial Office became involved in an attempt to offer some protection to the Maori from unscrupulous British subjects while at the same time easing the settlement process for others. The first formal involvement of the Colonial Office was in the drafting and signing of the complex Treaty of Waitangi, unique in the British Commonwealth. The 1840 Treaty of Waitangi was signed by one representative of the British Crown and over 500 Maori chiefs representing the Maori. In essence, the Treaty comprised three main, interwoven and, as such, confusing issues: "the legal status of the country, humanitarian concern for Maori welfare, and the need to convince

the Maori population that further British intrusion should be accepted” (Orange, 1987, p. 33). The outcome, on paper if not in practice, was that the Maori became full citizens more than 120 years before the aboriginal peoples of Canada or Australia.

However, in the relationships between colonisers and aboriginal peoples, few things are simple. The debate has continued, heated in recent years, over the intent and meaning of the Treaty of Waitangi. Both Orange (1987) and Walker (1990) maintained that the unresolved issues surrounding the Treaty were a consequence of there being two treaties, one in English and one in Maori, each with a different stated purpose. The English version used the term ‘sovereignty’ that translates more into the Maori word ‘mana’. The Maori version used the word ‘kawanatanga’ that translates into the English word ‘governance’. Walker (1990) argued that if the word ‘mana’ had been used in the Maori version, no Maori would have signed it. As it was, only 39 chiefs signed the English version (Orange, 1987, p. 1). Most likely, the difficulties of translating terms and concepts between English and Maori explain why even that many chiefs signed it. Walker elaborated further on the imprecise translation of the Treaty and the meanings concealed behind that imprecision.

The briefness of the period of the Treaty of Waitangi, 1840 - 1846 was a consequence of the imprecision and concealed meanings of the Treaty. A Protectorate Department was formed in 1840 to honour the terms of the Treaty by administering land transactions between Maori and settlers and to develop a Maori justice system incorporating Maori customs. Under the Treaty, land could only be obtained from the Maori with their free consent. There followed an unbridled period of land transactions that exceeded the resources of the Protectorate Department to administer. Maori wanted to sell and settlers wanted to buy. An enormous problem became immediately apparent when it was realised that Europeans and Maori had very different understandings of land ownership. Not only were there misunderstandings between European and Maori, but also among Maori. Some Maori individually sold land that belonged to a collective. Land disputes arose on all fronts.

The Colonial Office responded by appointing a Governor in 1845 who dismantled the Protectorate Department, removed the ‘protectors’ who implemented procedures for land transactions and replaced them with officials whose responsibilities were largely to accelerate the process of land transfer. The governor also declared any land unoccupied or uncultivated as ‘wasteland’ and was purchased by the Crown for settlers. Furthermore, the governor was also opposed to any recognition of Maori customs. Having seen how the Treaty of Waitangi was

disregarded in such a short time by a governor representing the Queen and the Colonial Office, one can see why the Treaty of Waitangi resurfaced more than 100 years later.

The assimilation period, 1847 - 1960 began with an accelerated period of settlement and the transfer of government authority from England to New Zealand. Following this transfer of authority any honourable intentions of the Treaty of Waitangi were further reduced when it was decreed that only those people who owned individual titles to land could vote. As only a few Maori held individual titles to land, their 'citizenship' status was considerably degraded. As the settlers' land-grabbing accelerated, so did Maori resentment to it. The consequence was the Land Wars, or the Maori Wars, or Pakeha (white New Zealanders) Wars, depending on who is describing them, of the 1860's. When the Maori tried to regain control of their land, it was too late. War broke out. British soldiers became engaged. Battles were won and lost on both sides. Eventually, peace was negotiated. In the process of negotiating peace, well over a million hectares of land were confiscated from the Maori.

As part of a reconciliation process and to avoid further bloodshed, various policies were implemented between 1861 - 1867. Although each gave some recognition to Maori customs and values, the overall intent was assimilation. The Native Land Act of 1862

abolished the Crown right of pre-emption and made provision for Native Land Court to decide the ownership of Maori lands. The aim of the Court as defined in the Act was to identify the owners of tribal land and transform communally owned land held under customary title into individual title cognisable in English law, so that Maori ownership would become 'assimilated into British law'. (Walker, 1990, p. 135)

The Native School Act 1867 provided for schools to be established in each community. However, unlike the previous Mission schools, instruction was permitted in English only. As in Canada and Australia, speaking languages other than English at school often resulted in corporal punishment.

This was a period of acceptance and compromise for all Maori. Some accepted European ways and views. A cadre of articulate and educated young Maori men formed a political party. A quotation from the *Oxford History of New Zealand* (King, 1981) described this group as being

characterized by its wholesale adoption of Pakeha culture and its readiness to scrap the surviving elements of its own. To them Maori society was degraded, demoralized, irreligious, beset with antiquated, depressing, and pernicious customs. Their task . . . was to reconstruct this society to make the race clean, industrious, sober and virtuous. (p. 289)

Some would not compromise.

Loss of mana, military invasion, and loss of land by creeping confiscation were the most obvious effects of colonisation. In order to counter the inroads that the Pakeha

had made by surveying the land and inserting military settlers there, prophets arose as new leaders to unify the tribes against their common oppressor. Unity across tribal divisions was to be achieved through the mystical power of religion. (Walker, 1990, p. 130)

Accepting or compromising, the Maori population was declining at such a rate that, as was happening at the time with the Australian Aborigines, some Europeans felt it was headed for extinction. Similar to population patterns after colonisation in North America and Australia, the Maori population dropped to an estimated low of 42,113 in 1896 (King, 1981, p. 280) from an estimated high of between 100,000 - 250,000 before contact. Meanwhile the European population of New Zealand had grown from 5,000 in 1841 to more than 600,000 in 1891 (Graham, 1981, p. 112). However, by the turn of the century, the Maori population had begun to recover. As the decades passed and the Maori population increased, so, too, did the rate of Maori urbanisation. With the general improvement in living conditions came a drop in both infant mortality and death from tuberculosis. This, combined with traditionally large Maori families, caused a dramatic increase in the rate of Maori population growth. By the 1950's burgeoning numbers of Maori in urban centres led to escalating numbers of Maori youth in city magistrate and youth courts. In spite of attempts at assimilation, the Maori had maintained their cultural identity separate from that of the Pakeha. Thus it appeared that there was a "Maori problem" in urban centres and not the facilities for maintaining Maori cultural practices (Dunstall, 1981, p. 424).

It was in this social environment that an evaluation of the work of the Department of Maori Affairs was called for. Thus began the period of integration in 1960 with the Hunn Report, an evaluation of the Department's work since 1861. Dunstall (1981) noted that Hunn welcomed urban drift as a means of integrating the "two species" of New Zealander (p. 424). Assimilation had not worked. National policy became integration. "The purpose of integration was to combine (not fuse) the Maori and Pakeha elements to form one nation in which Maori culture remains distinct" (Armitage, 1995, p. 145).

Strategies were enacted in various branches of government to facilitate integration. Yet at times the branches did not work well together. While the Department of Maori Affairs attempted to promote integration by 'pepper-potting' Maori houses amongst Pakeha ones, the State Advances Corporation continued to house families on the basis of need and income. Hence, concentrations of Maori appeared in tracts of rental houses (Dunstall, 1981, p. 425). As services for Maori were merged with services for the general population, differences in cultural practices became inevitably apparent. In the preface to his recommendations on education, Hunn's 1960

Report began with “School is the nursery of integration. . . . The cause of race relations would, therefore, be best served by absorbing as many Maori children as possible into public schools” (Beeby, 1992, p. 208). However, when the Maori Education Foundation in 1961 attempted to integrate Maori and Pakeha pre-school groups, the Maori deferred to the dominant Pakeha orientation and gradually ceased participating (Dunstall, 1981, p. 425).

Although aspects of integration continue, the official end of the period came in the late 1960’s when the government introduced measures to bring all remaining Maori land within the land title system. A government proposal was presented to redesignate all Maori land held by fewer than four owners as ‘European’ land (Walker, 1990, p. 206). This was seen as a final transgression of the Treaty of Waitangi. After several years of heated dispute, escalating bitterness among Maori, and increasing support for submissions put forth by the powerful Maori Council, the government responded in 1975 with the Treaty of Waitangi Act. This act established the Waitangi Tribunal in the same year. After 135 years, attention was once more on the Treaty of Waitangi. The Waitangi Tribunal was a vehicle for airing Maori grievances, investigating claims made under the Treaty, and presenting recommendations to Parliament for their equitable resolution.

The period of Maori resurgence began with the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal in 1975. With renewed vigor, Maori continued to demand that the terms of the Treaty be honoured. The fact that the government had not honoured any of the principles set out in the Treaty since it was signed did not deter the Maori. Though limited at first, the Treaty of Waitangi Act and the Waitangi Tribunal were the beginning of a long process of righting past wrongs. Throughout the 1970’s, as Maori activists took direct action in reopening the files of the past with the Treaty of Waitangi, other Maori leaders took action in other venues. In 1977 a Maori was appointed Secretary of Maori Affairs and he actively recruited Maori into the Department. Soon the Department of Maori Affairs was being run by Maori, for Maori, and policies and programmes were implemented that reflected its new ideology. A new set of relationships between Maori and Pakeha and a new era of social and education policy had begun.

### **Contemporary Trends in New Zealand Maori Education**

Given that language cannot be separated from culture, language has been a central component in all indigenous efforts for cultural revitalisation. So it was that the New Zealand government sought to appease Maori appeals for cultural recognition, and align with international trends

toward multiculturalism, by introducing a Maori language programme in selected schools in 1975. The Taha Maori programme was a curriculum package that included learning a small selection of Maori words, songs and units of work that could be integrated through science, music, social studies, handwriting, maths, reading, physical education, art, and language (Jenkins & Ka'ai, 1994, p. 155). However, much of the Maori community perceived Taha Maori as shallow tokenism that perpetuated a devaluing of Maori culture. Resentment toward Taha Maori increased when a survey (Benton, 1979) confirmed that the Maori language was bound for extinction unless further action was taken (Jenkins & Ka'ai, 1994).

Feeling that the government was doing little to address the linguistic and cultural needs of the Maori, the kohanga reo (language nest) movement began in 1981. Staffed and largely driven by Maori mothers and women on maraes, Walker (1990) described the kohanga reo as the jewel in the crown of the Department of Maori Affairs (p. 239). Controlled and initially largely financed by communities, kohanga reo were pre-schools conducted entirely in Maori. Within a few years kohanga reo were flourishing across New Zealand. Soon, hundreds of children fluent in Maori were leaving kohanga reo for mainstream, English-language dominated, primary schools. Many parents wanted their children to continue with Maori and launched kura kaupapa Maori, that is, immersion primary schools based on the same principles as the kohanga reo.

Immersion primary schools, although considered successful, grew less rapidly than the kohanga reo. In spite of continued petitioning by the Maori community, the Department of Education was slow to provide the support necessary for kura kaupapa to expand to meet the demand. The reluctance, or the inability, of the Department of Education to fully support kura kaupapa Maori increased the discord between Maori and Pakeha.

Meanwhile, as kohanga reo flourished and kura kaupapa struggled, waves of change began to sweep over the entire education system in 1988 with the publication of *Administering for Excellence*, the 'Picot Report'. A taskforce was commissioned to review education administration under the chairmanship of Brian Picot, an Auckland businessman. In *Administering for Excellence* the taskforce suggested that the spasmodic, uncoordinated development of education had resulted in a kaleidoscope of administrative arrangements (p. 10).

Consequently, the taskforce found the administrative structure of education delivery was overcentralised, fraught with inconsistencies and duplication of services, and overly complicated by too many decision points all through the system. Accountability was also lacking throughout the system. Further, the taskforce found that the administrative structure lacked effective

management practices and suffered from poor dissemination of information to principals and parents. With respect to the consumers of education, parents and children, the taskforce found they were unhappy with having little or no choice of where to enroll. There were also widespread feelings of dissatisfaction with the system in its inflexibility and unresponsiveness to consumer demand. Parents shared with principals and teachers a powerlessness in influencing decision making.

In light of these findings, the taskforce recommended radical changes throughout the education system. Within a few months most of the recommendations of *Administering for Excellence* were published in a policy document, *Tomorrow's Schools* (1988). Of the many changes brought about through *Tomorrow's Schools*, a few will be mentioned here. District offices and all district administrative staff were disbanded and the school became the basic unit of education administration directly responsible to the Minister of Education. An elected board of trustees was given overall policy control of each school and the principal assumed responsibility for the implementation of board policy and the daily operations of the school. The boards also assumed responsibility for the school budget, personnel policy, maintenance, and minor capital works. Each board, in collaboration with the principal, staff, and community was given responsibility for preparing a charter within the national guidelines for education. Similar to a contract, the charter defined the purposes of the school, intended outcomes for students, and ways in which programmes were designed to take advantage of student interests, staff skills, community resources, and community wishes. A Review and Audit Agency was formed by the central Department of Education to regularly review each school's charter to ensure its contractual objectives were being met.

Another change to come out of the Picot Report was the elimination of zones, or boundaried catchments, that defined which schools students would attend. Parents and students were given a choice in which school to enroll. The impact of this change was not as evident in small centres as in large ones. Some schools in large urban centres prospered with expanded enrolments as a consequence, while others suffered drastically falling rolls.

These were indeed major changes. They initiated an epoch of educational change that was to besiege New Zealand for years. Since the reforms of *Tomorrow's Schools* were implemented in 1989, further restructuring and changes continued to impact education in New Zealand. Rae (1994) concluded that the process of devolution initiated in 1988 was still incomplete four years later. Throughout this process some issues assumed more prominence than others. Equity issues



were prominent then and increased in importance over the years. Important to all New Zealanders, equity issues in education have had paramount importance to Maori. Tomorrow's Schools (1988) stated that "Equity objectives will underpin all policy related to the reform of education administration" (p. 25). Though purported to underpin all policy, there were few equity concessions imbedded in the new structures. The opportunity for self-governance of schools, perhaps the only structural concession, was welcomed by many Maori school communities. However, not all schools reaped benefits from the reforms, and not all welcomed the opportunities for self-governance and choice of enrolment. Some areas of New Zealand, those with the largest populations, such as Wellington and Auckland, contained schools that represented the full spectrum from opportunities gained to opportunities lost.

### **Auckland**

With a population over one million, Auckland contains nearly one third of the population of New Zealand. Auckland also has a higher proportion of Maori in its total population than any other large city in the country. Maori figure prominently in all the varied political, media, education, and business landscapes of Auckland. Aside from Maori, Pakeha, and Asians, Auckland also has a very large population of Pacific Islander peoples. Each of the schools studied in this research were located in the greater Auckland area. Two of the schools catered specifically for Maori students and one contained Maori and Pacific Islander students.

## **Indigenous Populations and Growth Rates**

All aspects of an overview of the complex social histories of the indigenous peoples of Canada, Australia, and New Zealand had to be enormously simplified for concise presentation in a study such as this. Furthermore, decisions had to be made with respect to which aspects of these social histories to include and which to leave out. Although this study emphasises qualities, specifically qualities pertaining to the nature of leadership and administration in indigenous schools, rather than quantities, population figures are included here to provide a sense of the implications for education policy, planning, and professional development. If education planning is going to be a proactive, strategic exercise rather than a reactive response, some figures on population levels and growth projections must be borne in mind during the planning process. However, the respective indigenous population statistics and projections are not simple census matters. Each country has different criteria for defining Aboriginal peoples. Further, each country uses more than one source

for obtaining population data. As Armitage (1995) indicated, each source has different purposes and is not necessarily in agreement with another source.

### **Canadian First Nations Population**

Though considered conservative by a number of scholars, the estimate of 500,000 First Nations people in Canada at the time of contact was widely accepted during the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Peoples of 1996 (Vol. 1, Ch. 1, p. 16). This number dropped to a census estimate of 102,000 in 1871 and has been rising ever since. Determining the total numbers of indigenous people in Canada, in spite of a federal registry of status Indians, is perhaps more difficult than it is in either Australia or New Zealand. Overall, there are nearly 1,000,000 people in Canada included under the umbrella term 'First Nations peoples' (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996, Vol. 1, Ch. 1, p. 17). However, this number includes 'status' and 'non-status' Indians, Métis, and Inuit. Furthermore, their numbers are counted by three different agencies. It is sufficient to indicate that approximately 3% of Canada's population of nearly 30 million is of First Nation ancestry and that the First Nations population is growing at a much faster rate than the general population.

### **Australian Aboriginal Population**

Officially, the Aboriginal population did not exist in Australia's early colonial history. Armitage (1995) referred to the Constitution Act of 1900, the founding document for the Commonwealth of Australia, which stated that "Aboriginal natives shall not be counted" (p. 27). Precontact population estimates vary, with approximately 300,000 widely accepted (Harker & McConnochie, 1985, p. 41). The first time Aboriginal people were included in the Australian census in 1971, there were 115, 593 (Armitage, p. 27). Based on the 1991 census, there were 303,261 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders in 1994, representing 1.7% of the total population of 17.8 million (*Year Book Australia*, 1996, p. 81). Between the 1986 and 1991 census periods the indigenous population of Australia grew at an annual rate of 4.7% compared to a growth rate of 1.1% for the total population.

### **New Zealand Maori Population**

The Maori population is also growing at a much more rapid rate than the non-Maori population. In 1986 there were 295,317 Maori comprising 9% of the total population of 3,263,283 (*New*

*Zealand Official Yearbook 1993*, p. 79). The Maori population had increased to 323,493 by 1991 (*New Zealand Official Yearbook*, p. 79) while the total population increased to 3,373,929. This demonstrates a growth rate of 9.04% for Maori and 3.4% for New Zealand overall for that five year period. If all those people with Maori ancestry were included in the 1991 census, their numbers would total 511,947, 15% of the overall population (*New Zealand Official Yearbook*, p. 78).

## Summary

In summary, the contexts of indigenous education in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand share many features. Across them all, the relationships between indigenous peoples and Europeans were forged by the same Colonial Office policy documents. With self-government came a succession of overlapping policy periods, all very similar, in each country. Until the recent movements toward multiculturalism and recognition of indigenous people's rights under variously defined headings of 'equity,' all other policy periods were shaped by the work of the 1837 House of Commons Select Committee on Aborigines. Having a shared beginning, commonalities of indigenous and non-indigenous relationships continued independently in each national context. Indigenous peoples are demanding self-determination. Their governments are promising equity. The promise of equity appears dubious for a number of reasons. Perhaps the ramifications of 'equity' are not entirely understood by policy writers. The training of teachers and not of administrators is an example of this 'misunderstanding.' Across each of these countries there are increased programmes and facilities for training indigenous teachers. However, no attempt was found in any of their universities to offer graduate programmes in educational administration specifically for indigenous schools. It would seem reasonable that if policy statements of equity are sincere, that structural and administrative innovations would emerge that would entail indigenous forms of organisation and leadership.

Nevertheless, if indigenous peoples around the world are taking control of their destiny, it appears that education is the forum for the process. As observed by Barman et al. (1995), the thrust toward indigenous control of education is a major part of the larger revitalisation of indigenous societies occurring in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

“Education is a cultural process.”

Spindler, 1973

#### **Introduction**

The previous chapter situated this study of educative leadership in indigenous schools within both the researcher’s experience and the historical and political context in which indigenous education is located. In this chapter literature on indigenous world views and their impact on organisational forms as they relate to education is juxtaposed with literature on Educational Leadership from practical and theoretical perspectives.

This literature review is divided into five sections. The first section begins with an overview of indigenous world views and epistemologies and is followed by a presentation of what was found about education, teaching, and learning in indigenous contexts. Next, indigenous ways of theorising and organising and how they differ from those in Western settings are reviewed. Then follows a brief sketch of previous studies of principals to determine their relevance for indigenous schools and to illustrate ways in which this study differs. Theory development in Educational Administration is also traced and compatibilities and incompatibilities with indigenous settings are demonstrated. Theoretical positions of a number of prominent scholars in Educational Administration representing a broad spectrum of approaches are presented.

This review, of indigenous world views and theory development in the field of Educational Administration, straddles two contrasting, perhaps contradictory (Christie, 1987) poles on an ontological and epistemological continuum. Indigenous societies are characterised by holistic, interrelated, subjective, and timeless approaches to being and to understanding. Conceptualising such frameworks of being and understanding requires circular or complex, that is, non-linear models. Educational Administration, on the other hand, has been dominated by Western notions of organisation and science. Such an approach is epitomised by the objective analysis of parts instead of wholes in which chronology and measurement are relevant and can be illustrated with linear models, boxes, and arrows. Hence, the structure of this review reflects, rather, is dictated

by its content. Much of it is iterative, spiraling forward with overlaps appearing repetitive. This is exemplified by the presentation of the sections on research about learning, teaching, theorising, and organising in indigenous education.

Following a review of indigenous epistemologies it was essentially a ‘chicken or the egg’ decision as to which topic came next. Which came first: learning, organising, or theorising? Chronological ordering was neither practical nor possible. Learning, organising, and theorising appear to be interrelated and interdependent to the point that one cannot be discussed or described without including elements of the other. Hence, shifting from one to the other may be somewhat jarring and the discussion and content, at times, occasionally appearing repetitive. Conversely, some of this review is organised in a chronological, linear manner. As the search for a ‘grand theory’ of Educational Administration was abandoned, other approaches gained centre stage as various theories competed through the years.

### **Indigenous Epistemologies**

This review begins with indigenous epistemologies. The epistemology of a cultural group, that is, the ways in which things become known and the validation of that knowledge, influences the ways and means of education, of teaching and of learning. Viewing culture as a shared, symbolic system of rules for interpreting and acting in the world, Harker and McConnochie (1985), asserted that “every culture generates an epistemological base, or ‘world view’ which provides a framework for the symbolic system” (p. 31). While Harker and McConnochie equated epistemological base with world view, other scholars (Hughes & More, 1993) suggested that an epistemology is conveyed in the world view held by a particular society (p. 7). Here ‘world view’ is understood to be a more inclusive concept. An even more encompassing definition of ‘world view’ was provided by Kolig (1989). He described ‘world view’ or ‘Weltanschauung’ “as the totality of all knowledge, conceptions, beliefs, and assumptions relating to the cosmos, the world, its origins and structure, causative forces and laws obtaining in it, and to human existence and its meaning and purpose” (p. 101). Although ‘world view’ is more comprehensive than ‘epistemology,’ several scholars writing in the area of indigenous education have used the terms interchangeably. The synonymous usage of these terms allows for the justification of a modest application of the coherence theory of evidence (Evers & Lakomski, 1991) to fuse their meanings. Hence, for this discussion, world views and the epistemologies they embody provide socially

constructed bodies of knowledge which shape ways of theorising, learning, valuing, organising, and so on.

Clearly, a comprehensive presentation of indigenous epistemologies is beyond the scope of this study. Furthermore, the phrase 'indigenous epistemologies' is used here as a sweeping generalisation with the full knowledge that in each of Canada, Australia, and New Zealand there is not one indigenous epistemology common to all peoples. Prior to European contact there was not a singular pan-Canadian, Australian, or New Zealand identity or self-referent for the indigenous peoples. Thinking he was in India, Columbus erroneously called the people he found in North America 'Indians,' whereas, they referred to themselves as Cree, Mohawk, or Micmac, etc. Similarly, Australian Aboriginal peoples referred to themselves by their tribal names such as Ptjantjatjara, Pintupi, or Arrernte, etc. Speaking of Maoritanga, (of being Maori), Rangihau (1992), a Tuhoe man said,

Although these feelings are Maori, for me they are my Tuhoetanga rather than my Maoritanga. My being Maori is absolutely dependent on my history as a Tuhoe person as against being a Maori person. It seems to me there is no such thing as Maoritanga because Maoritanga is an all-inclusive term which embraces all Maori. (p. 190)

However, acknowledging the continued existence of tribal identities, there are aspects of world views shared to a degree across national indigenous contexts. What follows is a brief commentary on indigenous epistemologies which will demonstrate substantial commonalities between them and highlight fundamental differences between them and those of the Western Europeans whose world views have subjugated indigenous populations. Several studies either conducted in the United States or written by indigenous American scholars are included also. The political boundary between Canada and the United States along the 49th parallel does not define the cultural and epistemological orientations of the indigenous peoples of North America who, for thousands of years, have traveled freely across this line.

Given the disparities between their respective symbolic systems for understanding the world, I tend to agree with Harris (1990) that European Australians and Aborigines do not understand each other very well (p. 21). Furthermore, I extend the accuracy of that statement to apply with equal relevance to an inherent misunderstanding between non-First Nations and First Nations peoples of Canada and between non-Maori and Maori also. Ontological, axiological, and epistemological differences in the ways these cultures conceptualise ways of being, valuing, and

understanding are the sources of the misunderstanding. In each national context, indigenous ways of knowing were either completely disregarded or devalued and superseded by Western ways.

Ermine (1995) argued that the Western notion of 'atomism', "the fragmentation of the constituents of existence," (p. 103) is in direct contradiction with First Nations people's notions of 'holism'. Holism is fundamental to First Nations epistemologies. Where Western science views the world objectively and reduces the whole into parts to be measured and analysed, First Nations people include the self and spiritualism in their understanding of the universe. Ermine suggested that "aboriginal epistemology is grounded in the self, the spirit, the unknown. Understanding of the universe must be grounded in the spirit" (p. 108). In First Nations epistemologies there is no demarcation between the self, the external world, and the spirit world. Everyone and everything is connected and can only be understood in terms of the whole. McCaskill (1994) suggested that, "Indian culture has at its heart a spiritual worldview which suggests that all things in life are related in a sacred manner and are governed by natural laws" (p. 165). Ermine stated further that, "Aboriginal people found a wholeness that permeated inwardness and that also extended into the outer space. Their fundamental insight was that all existence was connected and that the whole enmeshed the being in its inclusiveness" (p. 103). Ermine's criticism of Western education was that,

The 'fragmentary self-world view' that permeates the Western world is detrimental to Aboriginal epistemology. The Western education systems that our children are subject to promote the dogma of fragmentation and indelibly harm the capacity for holism. (p. 110)

The pervasiveness of the holistic epistemology of First Nations people and its implications for understanding is exemplified by the widespread use of circular, inclusionary models used by First Nations scholars. These models are common applications of First Nations cultures' representation of the wholeness, the interrelatedness of all things. Physical structures referred to as medicine wheels or sacred circles have been in use by First Nations cultures for thousands of years. Some medicine wheels are vast structures made of stones and are best viewed from an airplane. Others are small enough to cross in a few steps, while others are not physical structures as much as they are pedagogical tools for facilitating understanding or ways of organising. Hampton (1995) used the circle of the six directions (north, south, east, west, 'spirit,' 'earth') as a model to aid in the analysis and understanding of qualitative data. Calliou (1995) used a medicine wheel to illustrate a peacekeeping pedagogy for a multi-cultural Canada. A school in central

Canada used a sacred circle as the spiritual foundation for the social and cultural dimensions of healing education in upgrading and academic programmes for First Nations youths (Regnier, 1995). Medicine wheels are used as tools to convey, and aid in understanding, that “everything in the universe is related within the tradition of Lakota [First Nations] spirituality; everything is relational, and can only be understood that way” (Calliou, 1995, p. 50).

Across the Pacific the Maori and Australian Aboriginal peoples also held a spiritual conception of a non-linear, interdependent universe. Several key concepts in Maori language and culture embody the Maori way of being and knowing.

For the Maori the unity of all things is epitomised by the concept of ‘whakapapa,’ the genealogical descent of all things. Literally meaning, “to lay one thing upon another, as, for example, to lay one generation upon another. . . . Whakapapa is a basis for the organisation of knowledge in respect of the creation and development of all things” (Barlow, 1996, p. 173). Maori genealogies begin with cosmic genealogies, followed by the genealogy of the Gods (nature and the environment), next of mortal man, and finally the genealogy of the canoes which brought the Maori to New Zealand and from there through the generations to the present. It is important to many Maori to be able to trace their genealogies back to the canoe that brought their ancestors. During the course of this research I spoke with one Maori scholar who said he could trace his whakapapa beyond ‘his’ canoe, back to the Gods. Indeed, many Maori identify themselves and organise their knowledge in relation to the Gods. Walker (1990) exemplified the use of the whakapapa as a way of organising knowledge and demonstrating the relatedness of all things when he began his monograph, the first history of New Zealand from a Maori perspective, with a retelling of the cosmic creation myths and subsequent myths of the Gods and the canoes which brought the first tribes to New Zealand.

A second concept, fundamental to Maori ways of being, organising, learning, and teaching is the whanau, or roughly translated into English, the extended family. Maori society is organised into iwi (tribes), comprised of many hapu (clans or sub-tribes), containing many whanau (extended families). Whanau implies more than simply extended family. Whanau has structural, ideological, and philosophical connotations. At its core, whanau has a collectivist ethos that connects people to one another through their extended families, their clans, and tribes.

Whanau is the foundation of the structure [of Maori relationships]. A relationship exists among members of the whanau, hapu and iwi. It is based on whakapapa kinship descent lines from an eponymous ancestor of the originating waka [first] canoe. It



includes caring for all members and the training of those younger members in the skills and knowledge that are important. (Johns, 1992, p. 21)

Within the Maori world view knowledge is of two kinds. Knowledge is hierarchical and tapu (sacred) (McCarthy, 1994, p. 62). Some knowledge is less tapu than others and is available to anyone who cares to obtain it. Other knowledge is very tapu and can only be offered to selected 'learners' under certain conditions by special 'teachers.' This division of knowledge into sacred and secular domains is another example of the spiritual dimension of knowledge for Maori and is also shared by Australian Aboriginal peoples.

Traditional knowledge was also of two kinds for Australian Aboriginal peoples (Ngurruwutthun, 1991). Here also the restrictions on who had access to knowledge depended on the degree of sacredness incorporated into the knowledge. This system of restricted knowledge, similar to that of traditional Maori and First Nations societies, has been described as a central organisational structure in Aboriginal society (Morphy, 1983).

A great deal has been written on the Aboriginal world view and the implications for teaching and learning (Harris, 1980, 1990; Parish, 1991; Christie, 1987; Hughes, 1987; Hughes & More, 1993). Perhaps so much has been written about the Aboriginal world view because of its many striking contrasts with that of non-Aboriginal peoples. Several English terms are used to describe the Aboriginal world view; the Dreaming, the Law, and the Aboriginal Way (Harris, 1990). Accepted by Aboriginal peoples as the best English term to describe their world view, "the Dreaming, the Dreamtime, not only refers to an historic heroic era in the long distant past but is a living continuation of spiritual life and instruction that continues today" (Coombs, Brandl & Snowdon, 1994, p. 35).

Various defined, the essence of the Aboriginal world view is encoded in the concept of Dreamtime (Kolig, 1989, p. 102). Broadly speaking, the concept of Dreamtime is a metaphorical framework that unites the past with the present, the living with the dead, the spirit world and the physical world. Coombs (1994) suggested that the Dreaming, as a "system of knowledge is the equivalent for Aborigines of Western science with its accumulated knowledge, its hypotheses and accepted paradigms of explanation" (p. 9). There are, however, significant differences between the Dreaming and Western science. Prominent among these differences is that the Aboriginal world is characterised by religious rather than scientific attitudes. This is one of the reasons why Aboriginal society has been referred to as the most religious in the world (Harris, 1990, p. 22).

Interactions with personalised or animated supernatural forces were common occurrences in traditional Aboriginal societies.

The all-encompassing nature of the concept of the Dreamtime can be used here as a helpful heuristic device to discuss several components of the Aboriginal world view which have important implications for education. The holistic, interactional emphasis of Aboriginal societies is embedded in the concept of the Dreamtime. As in First Nations and Maori world views, the Aboriginal universe is not understood objectively as much as subjectively. All things in the universe are related and they are understood within the context of their relatedness rather than compartmentalised (Harris, 1990) or atomised, as described above by Ermine (1995).

The interactional aspect of the Aboriginal world view has been contrasted with the transactional emphasis in Western society. Emphasising being rather than doing, interactional alludes to the interrelatedness of all things, human, spiritual, physical, past, and present and the personal nature of that relationship. Bain (1992) defined interaction as a process which provides a model of action within a context in which all relationships are known in a classificatory kinship system that includes all people in the social world and all things in the material world through totemic groupings (p. 141). Thus, interaction in the Aboriginal world view functions much like an expanded whakapapa for the Maori. While the whakapapa expresses the relationships between generations of Maori and includes the gods, the Aboriginal interactional world view includes everything in the universe.

Bain (1992) suggested that interaction characterises all Aboriginal social practice at the exclusion of transaction, whereas in Western society, both interactional and transactional process occur, although interaction is usually restricted within families and friends. Business relationships and associations formed for specific ends dominate virtually all relationships outside of small intimate circles. Such transaction-oriented relationships can be quantified with wages or fees for services and do not involve the total 'persona'. Transactional processes imply quantification. Christie (1987) argued

that notions of quantity - of more and less, of numbers, mathematics, and positivistic thinking - are not only quite irrelevant to the Aboriginal world, but contrary to it. When Aborigines see the world, they focus on the qualities and relationships that are apparent, and quantities are irrelevant. A world-view in which land, spirit beings, people, and trees are all somehow unified does not lend itself to scientific analysis. (p. 11)

Aside from providing opportunities for misunderstanding between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples, there are implications for education in the interactional Aboriginal world. "In traditional Aboriginal society teaching is undertaken and learning occurs in the context of specific relationships. These activities are undertaken in harmony with the conceived functioning of the universe" (Bain, 1992, p. 146). Who teaches what to whom, was defined within the parameters of the interactional world view. Coombs et al. (1994) were referring to this model of disseminating knowledge when they observed that Aboriginal "people with knowledge have a duty to pass it on through appropriate channels to others with rights to it" (p. 88). In contrast to traditional Aboriginal society, education systems in contemporary Western societies appear to operate more in accordance with transactional processes than interactional ones. An understanding of traditional teaching and learning practices provides additional insights into the continued importance of relationships in Aboriginal society.

Harris (1990) suggested that many educators were aware that indigenous cultures and world views shaped the content of traditional education. However, he felt that few educators acknowledged that such views also shaped the methods of education and had implications for the contemporary schooling of Aboriginal children (p. 19). I suggest that any educators seeking to improve indigenous students' success rates in school would be well advised to reflect on the implications of indigenous world views impacting on both the content and methods of contemporary education. Harris (1980) was one of the first researchers to contrast the methods of traditional Aboriginal education and formal Western schooling. He described five major traditional Aboriginal informal learning strategies and contrasted them with their Western counterparts:

1. learning by observation and imitation versus verbal instruction;
2. learning by personal trial-and-error versus verbal instruction and demonstration;
3. learning in real-life activities versus practice in contrived settings;
4. context-specific learning versus generalisable principles; and
5. person-orientation rather than information-orientation: absence of the institutionalised office of the "teacher." (pp. 77-102)

Before discussing more recent research in the area, it is worth noting the interactional (Bain, 1992) emphasis in Harris's descriptions. For example, a consequence of a personal-orientation is an enduring valuing of personal rather than impersonal modes of learning (Coombs et al. 1994, p. 107). Additionally, it meant that traditional Aboriginal peoples placed a higher value on the

quality of the person in terms of his or her relationship with others than on his or her skills as a teacher or on the knowledge imparted (Harris, 1980, p. 97).

Some years later, Hughes and More (1993) made a case for traditional Aboriginal education providing the basis for present-day positions of Aboriginal people on the education needed for their children (p. 9). The next section provides evidence to support their case and extends it to other indigenous contexts.

### **Learning and Teaching in Indigenous Settings**

Discussions about the many implications of indigenous 'styles of learning' are not new and have gained in frequency in recent years. Citing research conducted in North America in the late 1960's, Philips (1972) argued that the incompatibility between Indian 'styles of learning' and non-Indian teaching practices often lead to miscommunication (p. 370). Her comment brings to mind a similar remark mentioned previously by Harris (1990) about European Australians and Aborigines not understanding each other very well.

Before continuing this discussion further it may be helpful to clarify the meanings of several concepts. "Ways of learning" were defined by Hughes, More, and Williams (1995) as

- the mental processes and instructional settings which a student uses while learning.
- A learning style is a way of learning in which the student has a strength in which the student is more competent.
- Learning patterns refer to the consistent usage of particular way of learning by a student. (p. 2)

Hughes et al. (1995) pointed out that learning styles and learning patterns may or may not be the same, as often in cross-cultural learning environments, students develop learning patterns through usage that are not their learning styles (p. 2).

An analysis of indigenous ways of learning, learning strengths, and learning patterns, in this case Australian Aboriginal, conducted by Hughes and More (1993) supported and expanded earlier findings by Harris (1980) and Hughes (1987). Additionally, the Hughes and More (1993) study compared cultural differences that may be related to ways of learning between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Australians. Their findings supported similar conclusions drawn previously by Christie, (1987); Harris, (1980 & 1990); and Coombs et al., (1994). They differentiated between primary and secondary cultural differences (Ogbu, 1987), suggesting that primary differences were those which arose directly from differences between cultures. Secondary differences (Table 3.2) arose indirectly both from students' cultural background and their experiences with school and the

broader society. Hughes and More (1993) plotted the elements of learning on a dimensional continuum to facilitate the understanding of culturally related differences to improve educational opportunities for Aboriginal students. Conclusions they drew about primary cultural differences and ways of learning have been summarised and integrated with their dimensional continuum below (Table 3.1). It should be noted that plotting Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal learners on opposite ends of a continuum is done more to promote discussion and to serve as a heuristic device rather than to make definitive statements about Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal learners. Certainly, there are individual learning differences across and within cultural groups. The simple point to be made by reproducing this continuum here, is that if there are differences in ways of learning between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal learners, then it is reasonable to expect those different ways of learning would be better supported by similarly different approaches to educative leadership. Table 3.1 illustrates general tendencies only.

**Table 3.1 - Dimensional Continuum of Elements of Learning and Primary Cultural Differences**

	<b>Aboriginal</b>			<b>Non-Aboriginal</b>		
<b>Cognitive Processes</b>	Global	↔			Analytic	
	Focus on understanding the overall concept				Learning the details	
	Imaginal	↔			Verbal	
	Learning through observation and imitation				Verbal instruction	
	Use imaginal processing to code information					
	Concrete and Abstract	↔			Abstract	
	Abstract as in learning the Dreaming					
	Trial & Feedback	↔			Reflective	
	Learning through trial and feedback, also reflective					
	Modality: Sight	Hearing	Touch	Smell	Taste	
	Use visual modality to receive information					
<b>Learning Context</b>	Contextualised	↔			Decontextualised	
	Psychomotor	↔	Cognitive	↔	Affective	
<b>Instructional Setting</b>	Cooperative/Group	↔			Competitive/Individual	
	Learning as a group process					
	Adult	↔			Peer	
	Traditionally, both tend to learn from adults					
	Informal	↔			Formal	
	Learning is often spontaneous				Learning tends to be structured	
	Types of Humour: Too many types of humour to place					
	Warm Teacher	↔			Cold Teacher	
	Receptive	↔			Active	
	Mixed, tendency toward receptive					
	Personal	↔			Impersonal	
	Internal	↔			External Onus For Learning	
	Children are responsible for their own learning				Parents take more responsibility	
<b>Physical Setting</b>	Desk Arrangement					
	Temperature, Light Level					
	Time of Day					

**Table 3.2 - Secondary Cultural Differences**

<b>Secondary Cultural Differences</b>	<b>Explanation</b>
<b>Apparent passive participation.</b>	Aboriginal environments promote cooperative participation rather than initiation and assertion, which may be regarded as being pushy and impolite. Aboriginal parents and students may feel they have no influence on school and tend to accept whatever the school requests. Differences in language usage, worldviews, and life experiences reduce student's confidence to differ with the teacher or non-Aboriginal peers.
<b>Concrete learning style.</b>	This common observation may be more of an indication of the irrelevance of the concept than of its abstract nature.
<b>Non-responsive and random learning styles.</b>	Adopting a non-responsive or random learning style may be more a consequence of the unfamiliar environment and feelings of ostracisation than a cognitive process. Students may give up reflecting on a problem, if they respond at all, and ineffectively employ Trial & Feedback learning by randomly guessing.

(Hughes et al. 1995, pp. 5-12)

Several of the above observations on Aboriginal ways of learning and teaching, and their implications for contemporary schooling were also noted by Coombs et al. (1994, pp. 85-123), Bell (1988), and Christie (1987). Similar research conducted in First Nations and Maori contexts supports these Australian Aboriginal studies with comparable observations. Philips (1972) drew on research conducted in the United States in the 1960's. Later, More (1989) came to similar conclusions with Canadian First Nations learners. In New Zealand the research of Maringi and Johnston (1992) and Smith (1993) embodied similar findings and contrasted the implications of Maori collectivism and cooperation with Pakeha individualism and competition. These research programs contributed to a body of evidence, expanded upon for more than three decades, that has documented cultural differences between indigenous and non-indigenous peoples, the influence of those differences on ways of learning and teaching, and their implications for education. As with ways of learning and teaching, cultural differences also influence ways of theorising and organising.

### **Theorising, Leading, and Organising in Indigenous Settings**

This section draws on research about theorising, leading, and organising in indigenous contexts. Specifically, a theory of First Nations education is presented, followed by a description of First Nations management and examples of First Nations and Maori organisation. The need for more

research to be conducted in these areas across indigenous societies is expressed in the concluding argument for more professional control of indigenous education by indigenous peoples.

The decision to use the term 'Indian' or 'First Nations' to denote an indigenous person in North America is a 'legal' and personal one. 'Indian' is a legal descriptor (Frideres, 1993), but may also be a term of choice for many indigenous North American people. As mentioned earlier, my preference is the term 'First Nations'. However, with respect to those scholars cited who use 'Indian,' 'Indian' will be used in that context.

### **A Theory of Indian Education**

Hampton (1995) recently generated an important contribution to theory development in indigenous education in North America. He recognised that First Nations peoples across the United States and Canada were independently inventing models of education and implementing programmes in their schools. While in some cases the resultant models were highly successful, in many cases there was little success to show for great expenditure of human and financial resources. Hampton claimed, "the lack of a theory of Indian education not only hampers research, it also impedes the practice of Indian education. . . . A theoretical articulation would serve to organise research, guide practice, and serve as an explicit aid to discussion and clarification" (p. 11).

Hampton (1995) presented a theory of Indian education composed of twelve standards or themes which he argued should be addressed by any theory of Indian education. These standards and their specifications are summarised and presented in Table 3.3 below.



**Table 3.3 - Hampton's (1995) Theory of Indian Education**

<b>Standards</b>	<b>Specifications</b>
<b>Spirituality</b>	Respect for the spiritual relationships that exist between all things.
<b>Service</b>	Education is to serve the people.
<b>Diversity</b>	Local control is a defining characteristic. Multiplicity, diversity, tribalism, and community-based education suggest the active implementation of diverse cultures.
<b>Culture</b>	Indian cultures have ways of thought, learning, teaching, and communicating that are different from, but as valid as, those of white cultures.
<b>Tradition</b>	Continuity with tradition is maintained.
<b>Respect</b>	Indian education demands relationships of personal respect.
<b>History</b>	Indian education has a sense of history.
<b>Relentlessness</b>	Indian education is relentless in its battle for Indian children. Indians take pride in their warriors, and their teachers are warriors for the lives of their children.
<b>Vitality</b>	Indian education recognises and nourishes the powerful pattern of life that lies hidden within personal and tribal suffering and oppression. Suffering begets strength. Indians have not vanished.
<b>Conflict</b>	Indian education recognises the conflict, tensions, and struggle between itself and white education as well as with education generally.
<b>Place</b>	Indian education recognises the importance of an Indian sense of place, land, and territory.
<b>Transformation</b>	Indian education recognises the need for transformation in relations between Indian and White as in the individual and society.

(Hampton, 1995, pp. 19-41)

Hampton (1995) was careful to state that he was not articulating a comprehensive theory of Indian education. Similarly, on the evidence available, I would not advise that his theory be generalised across First Nations cultures or extended to other indigenous peoples. There are, however, themes in Hampton's theory shared by other indigenous peoples. A few will be mentioned here and later revisited.

Given the prominent place of spirituality in First Nations and other indigenous world views, it is not surprising that spirituality was the first dimension in Hampton's theory. Tradition is another consistent theme across these cultures. Maintaining continuity with tradition is not, Hampton (1995) argued, rejection of the artifacts of other cultures or a desire to return to the past (p. 29). For indigenous peoples, appeals to traditions are ways of preserving and defining valued selves in a rapidly changing world.

Hampton's eleventh standard, the importance of place, common among First Nations, Maori, and Australian Aboriginal peoples cannot be stressed enough. For each of these peoples, land rights issues have been paramount since the early days of colonisation. However, place is more than land. Robertson (1993) explained that "place is more than just the physical

environment or geographic location in which one lives. There is an intertwining of cultural and social milieus with the natural surroundings” (p. 3). Hampton’s (1995) comment that “there are some things that can only be said from an Indian place,” (p. 40) apply equally to Maori and Aboriginal peoples. Further, his reference to Indian people as children of the earth who belong to, rather than own the land (p. 39) is also said of Maori and Aborigines. Thus, these three indigenous peoples can be identified with those societies, referred to by Robertson in which “there is a blurring of identities of person and environments” (p. 2). Turnbull (1989) suggested that many of the problems surrounding Australian Aboriginal land rights issues stem from the fact that there is not a word in the English language that adequately describes the relationship between Aborigines and the land (p. 386). Their spiritual relationship with the land, imbedded in the concept of ‘Dreaming,’ transcends time, life, and death, and connects one’s ancestors with one’s children. Clearly, such relationships are missing from Western notions of land ownership and real estate transactions.

The theme of culture is central to the education debate across indigenous societies everywhere. Indeed, all twelve of Hampton’s standards of Indian education are intrinsic to indigenous societies. Hampton’s contribution addressed the lack of a theory of Indian education. As with all theories, his will either be improved upon or replaced with a better one over time. Other areas of indigenous theorising now require attention.

### **Indian Management Style**

McCue (1990) presented a description of ‘Indian management style’. He argued that the absence of a description of an Indian management style prevented “employers and employees from better understanding Indian managers who integrate management techniques based on their culture with traditional corporate management practices” (p. 1). McCue described a series of ‘ideal-type’ characteristics that differentiated First Nations managers from managers of non-First Nations cultures. These characteristics and their descriptions are presented in Table 3.4 below.

**Table 3.4 - Characteristics of Indian Managers**

<b>Characteristic</b>	<b>Description</b>
<b>People orientation</b>	Concern for people issues and personal concerns of employees. Often informal workplace environment, greater attention to staff relations, and a high value placed on life experiences and personal qualities over academic qualifications in staff selection.
<b>Avoidance of conflict</b>	Consistent with cultural values of cooperation and harmony, conflicts are generally avoided. Working environment is structured to minimise tension and the possibility of conflicts.
<b>Absence of Networking</b>	Traditional value of individual competence is maintained. Networking may not be emphasised in order to prevent possible negative interpretations of the image of competent management.
<b>Non-directive</b>	General rather than specific and detailed directions are given to staff. Staff are encouraged to work independently. Facilitating is preferable to directing. Setting a tone in the workplace is more important than establishing rules or guidelines.
<b>Non-verbal</b>	Facilitating is preferred over verbal assertiveness in instructing employees.
<b>Consensus-seeking</b>	Willingness for consensus drives a lengthy, inclusive, participatory process that often silences a manager's own position rather than the risk of causing excessive influence.
<b>Flexibility</b>	An accommodating, flexible style rather than adherence to a pre-set plan of action. Management plans tend to change with input. Deadlines, as guides are less important than task completion.

(McCue, 1990, p. 8)

Stating the limitations of his subjective analysis, McCue's (1990) concluding remarks highlighted the urgent need for a thorough analysis of First Nations management style, or given cultural differences among First Nations peoples, 'management styles'. He emphasised the urgency of such an analysis by stressing that its delay "will also delay the recognition among employees and senior staff that Indian managers can and do manage differently, not less effectively than other managers, just differently" (p. 9).

### **Organisation of Indigenous Education Initiatives**

Barnhardt and Harrison (1993) attempted to analyse some of the purposes, characteristics, and strategies of indigenous education initiatives which distinguished them "in general from their mainstream counterparts, though the specific manifestations of these qualities are likely to vary from one indigenous setting to the next in accordance with the local culture" (p. 93). Their analysis, summarised in Table 3.5, produced a number of qualities common to many indigenous societies.

**Table 3.5 - Organisation of Indigenous Education Initiatives**

<b>Characteristic</b>	<b>Quality</b>
<b>Commitment to community</b>	An over-arching commitment to the collective interests of their community has higher priority than the development of the individual. Success and survival is determined by demonstrating, in culturally appropriate ways, commitment to the community.
<b>Integration of functions</b>	A high degree of structural and functional integration within the initiatives and between the initiatives and the communities they serve reflecting a holistic rather than fragmented framework.
<b>Sustained local leadership</b>	The successful functioning of indigenous education initiatives require strong, sustained, visionary leadership that is well grounded in the community. While locally-derived leadership is no guarantee of a constructive and cumulative building process, its absence greatly diminishes the chances of long term survival. Credibility and stature of leaders in the eyes of the host community is more important than credibility and stature in the eyes of the educational community. Leadership qualities may be viewed quite differently within the community than they are outside. It is common for different people to assume leadership roles in different contexts.
<b>Participation of elders</b>	The active participation of elders, as sources of knowledge and critical links between the initiative, the culture and community is a consistent feature of indigenous education initiatives. The educational mission and cultural mandate of most initiatives could not be accomplished without significant participation by the elders.
<b>Spiritual harmony</b>	Spirituality, in the sense of attending to, developing, integrating, and balancing all aspects of people's lives, including the physical, emotional, intellectual, and spiritual, is a vital dimension of indigenous initiatives.
<b>Use of local language</b>	The survival and use of the indigenous language has been a major concern for many communities that have entered into a local education initiative.
<b>Traditional ways of knowing</b>	Traditional ways of constructing, organising and using knowledge are of growing importance to indigenous education efforts. While there are variations in the details of knowledge use and ways of knowing from one indigenous community to another, the commonalities usually outweigh the differences.
<b>Traditional teaching practices</b>	Traditional teaching practices, including highly personalised relationships between teachers and students and a strong emphasis on experiential forms of learning activities. Creating opportunities to learn in which the teacher facilitates rather than serves as a repository of knowledge to which the student is given access. Teaching and learning are considered reciprocal, symbiotic, and natural processes in which knowledge and skills grow out of a mutual exchange and shared experience in which all participants are teachers as well as learners.
<b>Congenial environment</b>	Wherever possible, indigenous education initiatives have created an atmosphere and a physical environment that is a congenial and compatible with traditional cultural forms. To the extent that the institutions are able to offer a culturally compatible and congenial social and physical environment in which the indigenous culture is recognised and built upon, the students are that much more likely to find the rest of their experience sufficiently comfortable and rewarding to persevere.
<b>Participatory research</b>	The close link between the institutions and their communities and the strong inclination to be of service to those communities usually entails focusing on issues and using methodologies that draw upon and feed back into the community in substantive ways.

(Barnhardt and Harrison, 1993, pp. 93-98)

An interim conclusion based on work of Barnhardt and Harrison (1993) would suggest that the distinctive cultural adaptations of indigenous initiatives present important insights to be borne

in mind by those who endeavour to develop alternatives to the dominant, Western model of school organisation.

### **Kaupapa Maori, Te Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Maori**

Smith (1990; 1992a; 1992b) suggested that Kaupapa Maori, the philosophy and practice of being Maori, underpinned the successful educational initiatives of both the Te Kohanga Reo (Maori pre-schools) and Kura Kaupapa Maori (Maori primary schools). Table 3.6 presents a summary of Smith's (1992b) outline of the six elements of Kaupapa Maori in these initiatives. Smith used them to argue for their potential to address the crisis in Maori schooling.

**Table 3.6 - Elements of Kaupapa Maori**

<b>Element</b>	<b>Description</b>
<b>Tino Rangatiratanga (Relative autonomy principle)</b>	Greater autonomy over key decision-making in schooling with respect to administration, curriculum, pedagogy, and Maori aspirations, increases the commitment of Maori people to making these aspects of schooling work more effectively.
<b>Taonga Tuku Iho (Cultural aspirations principle)</b>	In Kura Kaupapa Maori, to be Maori is taken for granted and Maori language, knowledge, culture, and values are valid and legitimate. This helps affirm Maori cultural aspirations in the wider societal context of the struggle for language and cultural survival. The collective, emotional drive to revitalise Maori culture engenders greater commitment among Maori students to focus on the enterprise of learning and education.
<b>Ako Maori (Culturally preferred pedagogy)</b>	Teaching and learning settings and practices are connected with the cultural backgrounds and life circumstances of Maori communities. A culturally preferred pedagogy is formed from the Maori world view, reflecting distinct values, attitudes, and practices. Examples include the Maori view that knowledge belongs to the group and ought to be shared, one is encouraged to be retiring rather than overly displaying their knowledge, and the 'tuakana-teina' (older-younger) pedagogy where older children have a cultural responsibility to look after, teach and nurture their younger peers.
<b>Kia Piki Ake I Nga Raruraru O Te Kiangā (Mediation of socio-economic and home difficulties principle)</b>	The Kaupapa (philosophy) of Kura Kaupapa Maori is such a powerful and all embracing force, through its emotional (ngakau) and spiritual (wairua) elements, that it commits Maori communities to take seriously the schooling enterprise despite other social and economic impediments.
<b>Whanau (Extended family structure principle)</b>	A foundation structure permeating all aspects of Maori society and providing practical support to alleviate and mediate social and economic difficulties, parenting difficulties, health difficulties and others. Such difficulties are not located in individual homes but in the total whanau; the whanau takes collective responsibility to assist and intervene.
<b>Kaupapa (Collective vision; philosophy principle)</b>	Kura Kaupapa Maori have a collective vision, written into a formal charter entitled 'Te Aho Matua,' which provides the guidelines for excellence in what good Maori education should entail. It also acknowledges Pakeha culture and skills required by Maori children to participate fully and at every level in modern New Zealand society.

(Smith, 1992b, pp. 19-23)

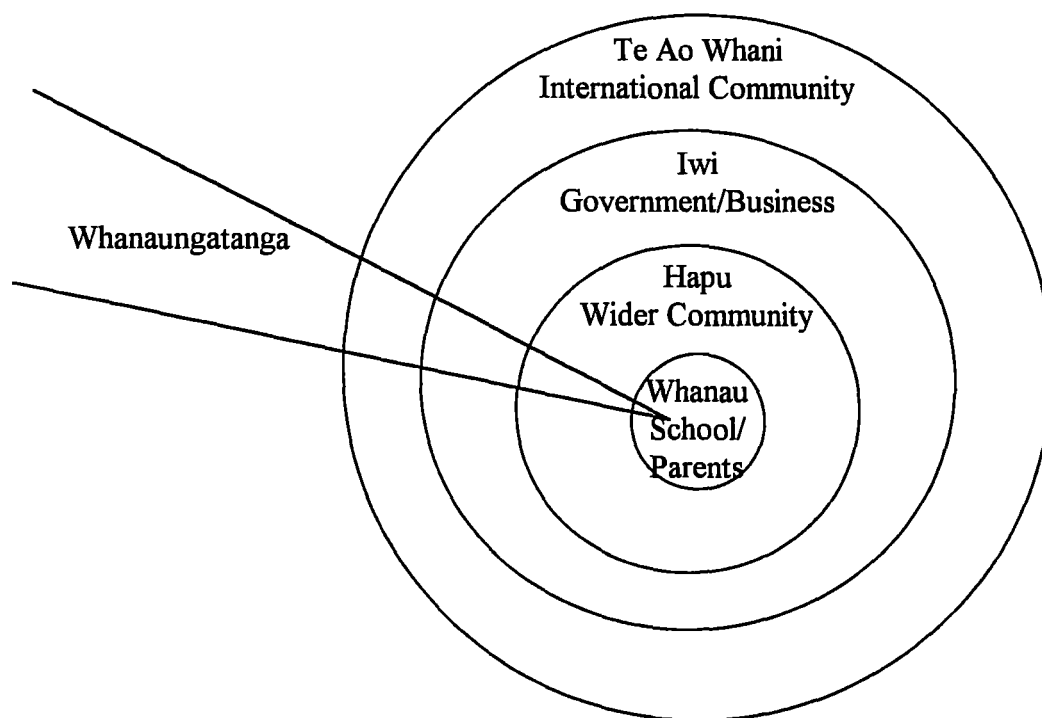
Comprising elements of Kaupapa Maori described above, Johns (1992) attributed the success of these two Maori education initiatives to the ways in which they aligned themselves with the structure of a marae.

A symbol of tribal identity and solidarity (Barlow, 1996), the marae is the focal point of Maori culture and communal activity (Walker, 1994). Traditionally having specific reference to an important, open meeting area in front of a chief's house at the centre of community fortress, modern maraes comprise all the buildings associated with a community facility. Generally, a

marae consists of a carved meeting-house, a dining-hall and cooking area, and an open space in front of the meeting house. A marae is the property of a kin group or sub-tribe (hapu), or a tribe (iwi). Strict protocols govern behaviour on maraes. When visitors arrive to a marae, these protocols, ancient in origin, based on dichotomies between the visitors and hosts and the sacred and the profane, become much more elaborate and formal.

Johns (1992) illustrated the structure of a Marae juxtaposed with the structures of Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Maori in Figure 3.1. As described earlier, the whanau (extended family) is the foundational social unit that unites members of hapu and iwi back to a common ancestor. The sense of belonging which transcends the whanau, hapu, and iwi is referred to as whanaungatanga. Whanaungatanga is manifest on the marae by a shared ethos representing common beliefs and values enacted through a collective effort by Maori of all ages and abilities for the common good. Facilitating at the heart of this collective effort is a teina-tuakana (younger/older) base, a supportive and caring learning environment of vertical grouping and cooperative teaching and learning. Translating this structure into a school entails that everyone involved with the school has something to offer for the good of all. Older children help younger children. Elders and parents participating in classrooms permeate curriculum and school climate. Boundaries between school and community life dissipate. School organisation reflects marae protocols.

**Figure 3.1 - Alignment of Marae Structure with Maori Educational Initiatives**



## **Research on Theorising, Managing, Leading, and Organising to Increase Professional Control of Education**

Explicit in the work of Hampton (1995), McCue (1990), Barnhardt and Harrison (1993), Smith (1992b), and others is the importance of advancing the professional control of indigenous education by indigenous peoples. As described previously, indigenous peoples have become more involved in and have assumed increased control over the education of their children since the early 1970's. For instance, from a federal policy level to parental involvement in schools, Canadian First Nations cultures and values have been increasingly promoted in education (Barman et al. 1994). However, as Hampton (1995) pointed out, although there has been increasing First Nations involvement and control, "most of the structures, methods, content, and faculty remain predominantly non-Native" (p. 10).

This situation underlies an argument extended by Barnhardt and Harrison (1993) that there are two types of control: political and professional. Recognition of First Nations peoples' right to control the education of their children has been expressed in federal policy allowing Band Councils to operate schools and assume all the ensuing responsibilities, thereby demonstrating political control. Barnhardt and Harrison argued that political control must include professional control if it is to transmit First Nations values and beliefs (p. 89). Political and professional control entails that schools are staffed by First Nations teachers and administrators and that First Nations peoples have some control over the professional preparation of teachers and administrators. However, the majority of First Nations students continue to be taught by non-First Nations teachers and usually in schools with non-First Nations administrators (Hampton, 1995). Whereas First Nations teacher preparation programmes may include some content of culturally preferred pedagogy, the same cannot be said for preparing administrators for First Nations schools. A review of Canadian graduate programmes in Educational Administration suggests that they have not reflected distinctive First Nations cultures, epistemologies, learning strengths, teaching strategies, or management styles.

This is equally true in New Zealand and Australian contexts in which numerous programmes have also been implemented to inculcate indigenous teachers with a culturally preferred pedagogy. There too, no references are made to specific programmes for the preparation of administrators for indigenous schools (Barnhardt, 1991). To further facilitate professional control over education, it may be helpful if theories of education and theories of administration were articulated



by each indigenous society. Such an articulation might reasonably begin with an examination of the principalship; the convergence of theory and practice of Educational Administration.

### **Research on Principals**

To assist with the conceptualisation of educative leadership in indigenous schools and to provide a foundation for articulating theories of leadership in use (Argyris & Schön, 1974) in such schools, this section of the review presents an overview of studies on principals and the principalship. One general question guides this section: Of the available literature on the principalship, what relevance does this information have for principals of indigenous schools?

To this point in this review it has been established that indigenous societies share world views and epistemologies that contrast sharply with the larger societies that encompass them. Stemming from these contrasts are differences in ways of learning, teaching, theorising, managing, and organising in indigenous contexts. It reasonably follows then, that in these settings there would be discernible differences in the practice of educative leadership or, as this study adopts Hodgkinson's (1983) position that administration is leadership, the practice of school administration.

Researching school leadership is an eminently popular pastime. Abundant evidence supports this statement with countless books and articles. The scale of this literature is vast. The scope, however, is not commensurate with the scale. Broadly speaking, literature on the principalship appears to fall into three main categories:

1. normative theories and models of school leadership, based on the valued norms of the wider society, which prescribe the best ways to go about the business of being a principal to accomplish accepted goals;
2. descriptions of what principals actually do in the daily reality of being a principal; and
3. profiles of principals which describe, at various depths, attributes, characteristics; and qualities of those people fulfilling the role of school principal.

Referring to mounting disenchantment with the principalship and shifting purposes of schools, Jenkins (1989) suggested that new models of the principalship were required. He cited the lack of studies of senior staff in action and a tendency to ignore some of the ideographic aspects of the role as holding back the development of more appropriate models of the principalship. Beck and Murphy (1992) conducted an extensive search of the literature on the principalship and confirmed that although much had been written about the activities and traits of

principals and the demands imposed upon them, a “robust” understanding was not forthcoming from the research.

We had much information, but it was highly descriptive and repetitive and revealed little about the assumptions and expectations associated with this important role or about the forces that helped to shape ideas about the principalship. (p. 387)

Certainly, much of the available literature on the principalship tends to support Beck and Murphy’s (1992) claims. Many books on the subject read like handbooks and some are named so (Jenkins, 1992; Smith & Piele, 1989). Although there is an abundant literature on the topic, it can be demonstrated that, for the most part, the wisdom and professional advice proffered in the literature has little relevance to indigenous schools.

Compilations of principal profiles offer a broad range of information about principals. Profiles might include what effective and ineffective principals do in their roles (Leithwood & Montgomery, 1986; Greenfield, W., 1987). Profiles may also describe the educational and ethnic backgrounds of principals and their families (Chapman, 1984; Chapman, Angus, & Burke, 1991).

Of the numerous, comprehensive studies dedicated to profiling principals, *The Principal Profile* of Leithwood and Montgomery (1986) continues to be recommended reading for students of Educational Administration in Canadian universities. Supported by nearly four hundred references and research studies conducted in thousands of schools across Canada and the United States, the overt purpose of their study was to improve principal effectiveness and, in so doing, improve school effectiveness. Principal effectiveness was defined by direct or indirect improvements in student growth (p. 6). Improving principal effectiveness entailed a reduction in the cost of learning to students, an increase in the proportion of students capable of mastering conventional school objectives, and an increase in overall student self-direction and problem-solving capacity. Certainly, *The Principal Profile* contributes to understanding principals’ actions and may well assist in improving principal effectiveness. However, the contributions of *The Principal Profile* to principals of indigenous schools and the students that attend them are less clear. The comparatively low retention and success rates of First Nations students in recent years in Canada, as indicated previously in Chapter Two of this study suggests that, for these people, the contributions of *The Principal Profile* have been minor.

Chapman’s (1984) *Descriptive Profile of Australian School Principals* was the culmination of a survey questionnaire to all 2,005 principals in Australia. Selected principals and system level administrators around Australia refined items on the questionnaire. The thirty-six item

questionnaire was “designed to elicit information regarding: personal background, formal education, work experience and professional development activities” (p. 3). The schools listed were: Government, Catholic, Independent, Primary, Secondary, and Primary and Secondary (combined). There was no mention of Aboriginal schools. In spite of the many Aboriginal schools across Australia, given the comparatively small percentage of Aboriginal people in the Australian population, approximately one percent, this omission may appear understandable to some.

Several years later Chapman, Angus, and Burke, (1991) wrote again of the school principal in Australia. Once more, although speaking of “respect for diversity, matched by a concern for equity and participation” (p. 103), such rhetoric, albeit inclusive of ethnic groups from eastern Europe, did not include Aboriginal Australians. Further, comments regarding the inevitable difficulties unprepared principals would have facilitating participative decision-making in light of the many recent changes impacting on the principal’s role (p. 107), indicated an unfamiliarity with the considerable literature on collective, consensual decision making in Aboriginal society (Rowse, 1992). Given the evidence, it would appear that neither Chapman’s (1984) or Chapman et al’s (1991) profiles of Australian principals were written about or for Aboriginal Australian principals.

As the principal is a person in a professional role, profiles of principals invariably include some degree of profiling the ‘job’ of being a principal. Smith and Piele’s (1989) *School Leadership* published by the Educational Resources Information Centre (ERIC) Clearinghouse and informed by the vast data bases at the disposal of ERIC, presented a profile of the person, the structure, and the skills that make up the principalship. Acknowledging the importance of both historical and cultural contexts, *School Leadership* presented “a portrait in time of what we *now* assume to be the qualities that make up a leader in *our* culture, for to be effective, a leader must be *of* this culture” (Mazzarella & Grundy, 1989, p. 9). In answer to the question, ‘what makes a good leader?’ Mazzarella and Grundy gave voice to cynics and realists with the statement, “white males of the Protestant persuasion” (p. 9). This frankness was continued in discussing racial minorities and the literature on school administrators:

In the [American] literature on school administrators, “minority” is virtually synonymous with “black.” This fact alone defines the status of Hispanics, Native Americans, and all other racial minority groups, who are denied even a token consideration. . . . most writers tacitly assume, by their omissions, that it [the subject of nonblack racial minorities in school administration] is simply not a big enough problem to consider. There is an urgent need for studies that will correct this imbalance and for more timely and comprehensive data collection efforts. (Coursen, Mazzarella, Jeffress, & Hadderman, 1989, p. 87)

Thus, the data bases of ERIC supported several major observations made during the course of researching educative leadership in indigenous schools. First, the need for congruence between the culture and the context within which leadership occurs. Second, the lack of consideration given to indigenous forms in school leadership literature. Third, the need for research in this area.

Looking at the principalship through a narrower aperture, perhaps the most thorough study of an individual principal was that done by Wolcott (1973). His famous ethnography, *The Man In The Principal's Office*, was an hour to hour, day to day, detailed description of the professional life of an elementary school principal in a prominently white, middle-class, suburban community in the Pacific Northwest of the United States. An anthropologist who viewed education as a cultural process, Wolcott was interested in what school administrators do with respect to that process. In his detailed descriptions of what the principal, Ed Bell did, a picture was drawn of a man who maintained and reproduced white American, middle-class, Christian values in the students and staff of his school. Between going to 'maintenance' meetings and included among the many ways he maintained the *status quo*, he enforced that students observe unquestioned dress codes and staff adhere to the Protestant work ethic, and not miss a day teaching children for personal or professional development. Attending to all and sundry details, Wolcott described what Ed was like and what he did.

However, referring to the question posed by Mintzberg (1973), Macpherson (1984) correctly pointed out, asking "What does an administrator do?" is not sufficient to address meanings of administrative action. Ed Bell was not given a voice in Wolcott's (1973) ethnography. He was not given the opportunity to present the meanings his actions had for him at Taft Elementary School. Wolcott, not Ed Bell, made sense of Ed Bell's actions. Therefore, as an individual's actions stem from a network of subjectively constructed meanings of which only they are conscious (Silverman, 1983), Wolcott presented Ed Bell's actions out of Bell's context of meaning. Hence, readers were given an interpretation of Bell's theories-in-use rather than his espoused theories of action (Argyris & Schön, 1974) which he would have used to justify his actions.

Heavily influenced by Wolcott's (1973) study, Gartner (1983) also used an ethnographic approach to investigate the reality of the principalship of largely Aboriginal schools and to investigate whether such schools should be administered in special ways. At the time of his research, no other study of the principalship of a largely Aboriginal school had been previously

undertaken (p. iii). More than ten years later I was unable to find any other detailed studies of the principalship in indigenous schools.

Gartner's (1983) study left a number of questions unanswered, some important ones unasked, and took an uncritical stance toward current administrative practices and the assumptions upon which they were based. For instance, he suggested that school structures and strategies, such as assessment and evaluation cycles, need to be well devised, (p. 60) but did not suggest any models to base them on other than the *status quo*. Such a suggestion has a closer affiliation with technical managerialism, 'doing things right,' than with the philosophical oughts of leadership or administration which places more of an emphasis on 'doing the right things'. The then present model of organisation, as difficult as it was for the principal to administer, was assumed to be the only model of school organisation.

Of various problems to be addressed in an Aboriginal school, one was the need to improve community involvement in the school without going too far (Gartner, 1983, p. 135). Although Gartner did not qualify how far was too far, such a statement implies that there is a point at which community involvement is too much. This statement indirectly related to the issue of changing the school to adapt to the cultural circumstances in which it was located without "losing sight of the specific reasons for its existence" (p. 123). Although the specific reasons were not mentioned, it appeared that the purposes were essentially assimilationist. The five main aims for student development began with an emphasis on skills and knowledge essential to living in the wider society (p. 125).

Gartner (1983) expressed a preference to discuss Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal differences in terms of cultural differences rather than referring to the, then popular, theory of cultural deprivation (p. 59). Although he expressed sound reasons why the theory of cultural deprivation was unacceptable or "fraught with danger" (p. 60), his repeated references to the greater difficulties of administering an Aboriginal school connoted deficit analysis. In attributing the difficulties of administering the school to the problems of the Aboriginal students, parents, and community, he was clearly assuming a victim-blaming orientation (Smith, 1992) in which a schooling 'problem' was created (Smith, McNaughton, & Smith, 1989) by Aboriginal students and their families (Hancock, Carney, & Evans, 1996). Throughout his study Gartner focused on students' difficult behaviours and what they did not have as the major contributors to the principals' difficulties.

Gartner articulated the need for Aboriginal teachers in Aboriginal schools. Although there were Aboriginal staff, such as teacher's aides, cleaners, and a general assistant at his Aboriginal study school, there were no Aboriginal teachers. Given the lower socio-economic status of the Aboriginal-held positions in the school, Gartner was correct in expressing the need for Aboriginal teaching staff to overcome "negative implications in the future in terms of status entrenchment" (p. 245). Similar comments have been made elsewhere (Harrison, 1992; Wearne, 1986), and many Aboriginal teacher training programmes have been instituted throughout Australia since the early 1980's. However, Gartner qualified his recommendation for Aboriginal teachers by suggesting that it may be idealistic, in that schools in which Aboriginal teachers have been teaching for some time have yet to be evaluated. Ending his recommendations for Aboriginal teachers at that point, Gartner overlooked two important considerations. First, he neglected to describe the evaluation criteria for schools with Aboriginal teachers. Would they reflect differences in world view or cultural practice? Second, if he was concerned about negative status entrenchment, given that present models of schooling place higher status on principals than teachers, then perhaps he should have advocated for more Aboriginal administrators for Aboriginal schools as Budby (1980) did several years previously. In his discussions of the ideal principals for Aboriginal schools, no mention was made of Aboriginal principals.

In spite of the shortcomings of Gartner's study, he made some valuable contributions and insights into the principalship of Aboriginal schools in 1983. There have been many changes since then. Clearly, in his acknowledgment that "Aborigines are culturally different" (Abstract) and that special demands are placed on principals of Aboriginal schools, Gartner was referring to the inherent difficulties of accommodating Aboriginal cultural differences within present structures. However, perhaps Gartner did not go far enough in his recommendations. He often referred to the non-ethnocentric bias in his research and emphasised "ethnocentrism does not exist as study outcomes would certainly be of dubious reliability and value" (p. 10). Yet, for all the difficulties related to Aboriginal schooling in an ethnocentric model of school organisation and administration, he omitted expressing the possibility that other models of organisation, less ethnocentric and more congruent with Aboriginal forms of organising be considered.

The need for change and drastic restructuring is often called for in the literature on school leadership (Murphy & Hallinger, 1992; Fullan, 1993; Hargreaves, 1995). However, the changes recommended tend to be shaped by the prevailing Western values held by the scholars who express them. Following from the cultural differences outlined previously, the purposes of

indigenous and bicultural education diverge from those of mono-cultural, mainstream education. If, as Schlechty, (1991) noted, the role of school leaders is determined by the purposes of education, then with respect to the education of indigenous students, the literature on the principalship does not reflect this divergence. I found that a striking feature of research on the principalship was the overwhelming monocultural bias permeating virtually all studies. Indeed, as will be shown, a monocultural umbrella extends beyond research on principals to encompass theorising in Educational Administration.

### **Theory Development in Educational Administration and Indigenous Education**

This section of the literature review is concerned with theory development in Educational Administration and its relevance, or lack thereof, to indigenous education. Having conducted searches of international literature on theorising in Educational Administration I was unable to find any evidence of research on such theory development having been undertaken in contexts involving the education of indigenous peoples. Consequently, there is not a research base to build from or critique. However, there is an extensive body of literature on theory and theory development in Educational Administration in the broader societies within which indigenous societies are encompassed. Hence, this section of the literature review traces theory development in Educational Administration to determine in what ways it can contribute to theorising in indigenous contexts. Of necessity, the large body of literature, containing numerous hotly contested debates is simplified and condensed for this presentation. Organised chronologically to more effectively illustrate the evolution of theory in Educational Administration, this section will attempt to demonstrate that the origins of theory in Educational Administration were founded and developed on an epistemological base that contrasts sharply, perhaps contradictorily, with that of indigenous societies.

#### **Theory Movement - Theory Problem**

The discipline of Educational Administration as a field of study and professional practice is relatively new, having started in the United States in the late 1940's, in Canada in the 1950's, and in Britain and Australia in the 1960's. At the time of its inception, Educational Administration was a hybrid discipline which had borrowed heavily from sociology, psychology, and science. Certainly, the foundation of Educational Administration was based on science. What counted as science was defined by a positivist theory of knowledge which separated facts from values and

presented itself as value neutral. This image of science had reshaped organisations and the way people behaved within them. The consequence was increased efficiency and productivity. Principles of 'scientific' management had increased the efficiency of pig iron handlers (Taylor, 1947), while principles of management had streamlined managerial functions through the body corporate in general industry (Fayol, 1949). The science of administration began shortly after attitudes and interpersonal relations were recognised as influencing productivity among workers (Mayo, 1949). Firmly placed on the epistemological platform of logical positivism, Simon's *Administrative Behaviour* (1957) has been referred to as the conduit for "the flow of 'administrative science' into Educational Administration" (Rizvi, 1991, p. 10).

Having borrowed heavily from the social sciences and other disciplines in the 1950's, the eclecticism of Educational Administration needed some theoretical glue to hold it together. A special report commissioned by the National Conference for Professors of Educational Administration found that "the lack of any theory of administration had produced wide gaps in research knowledge on administrative behaviour" (Hatchard, 1980, p. 3). Consequently, a group of scholars in the United States, convinced that the salvation of Educational Administration lay in the application of scientific principles, sought to tighten its theoretical structure. Hence, the 'Theory Movement,' piloted by Getzels, Halpin, Coladarchi, Walton, and Griffiths emerged "characterized by a search for the *substance* of administration and for the *theory* which binds the substance together" (Griffiths, 1959, p. 2).

That these founding fathers of Educational Administration firmly believed that administration could be studied scientifically, with all that that entailed, (Lakomski & Evers, 1995, p. 3), can not be emphasised enough. The philosophical considerations that guided the search for the substance and the theory were based on an epistemological foundation that clearly delineated the nature, claims, and justification of knowledge. Still viewing administration as a generic activity and hence, content free, a general theory was sought which would provide generalisations applicable to businesses, factories, and schools (Rizvi, 1991). One of the characteristics of the Theory Movement, still advocated by such influential writers as Hoy and Miskel (1987), was the requirement that terms have operational definitions. Accordingly, the search for a grand theory began with a definition of theory "to mean a set of assumptions from which propositions can be deduced by mathematical or logical reasoning" (Griffiths, 1959, p. 90). Stressing the hypothetico-deductive model of explanation, this theory purported to be descriptive and predictive (Evers & Lakomski, 1991, p. 54).



However, grand theory proved elusive. The search for it, referred to by Griffiths (1959) as the “theory problem,” was fraught with difficulties. Indeed, the search was doomed to failure based alone on the positivist assumption that organisations are the same wherever they are, and regardless of what functions they serve (Newton, 1985, p.4). A consequence of borrowing existing theories from sociology, psychology, and related fields to assist with the search for a general theory of administration created another ‘theory problem’. The “borrowing of theories in toto from the social sciences was accompanied by the blind ignoring of the controversies inherent in the adopted parent discipline” (Hatchard, 1980, p. 4). Hence, in the late 1970’s some scholars regarded the state of theory in Educational Administration as being ravaged by protracted, multidisciplinary debates over approaches to inquiry, issues of objectivity versus subjectivity, values, and determinism versus free will.

### **The New Orthodoxy**

By the 1980’s there were many critics of the Theory Movement. However, in spite of the criticisms, the Theory Movement shaped theory development in Educational Administration for decades and “its reliance on the behavioural sciences, and its view of explanation and prediction, continue to be an influential force” (Rizvi, 1991, p. 14). The enduring influence of the assumptions behind the Theory Movement is illustrated by the continued use of such texts as Hoy and Miskel’s (1987), *Educational Administration* in the majority of graduate programmes in Educational Administration. Drawing attention to Hoy and Miskel’s (1987) continued use of Feigl’s logical empiricist definition of theory “as a set of assumptions from which a larger set of empirical laws can be derived by purely logico-mathematical procedures” (p. 2), Evers and Lakomski (1991) suggested that it is “reasonable to suppose that the Feigl definition and associated philosophical methodology are still doing some work” (p. 48).

It is useful at this point to pause and reflect on the contrast between the epistemological foundations that shaped, and continue to influence the field and practice of Educational Administration with those epistemologies that underpinned practice in indigenous societies as described earlier. Primarily, indigenous epistemologies are encompassed within holistic world views in which the inner world of the self is interconnected with the external universe. This conflicts with prevailing positivist notions of science which reduces the universe, and knowledge of it, into empirical and observable facts and phenomena in which beliefs and values are disregarded. Thus indigenous epistemologies are more akin to religions than any denotations of

'science' (Chalmers, 1990) which support the epistemological foundations of Educational Administration (Evers & Lakomski, 1991). Based on such divergent philosophical foundations as to be contradictory, it is reasonable to suggest that the general theory of administration sought by the Theory Movement would have little use or value in indigenous settings.

Returning now to the development of theory in Educational Administration, though Hoy and Miskel (1987) continued to advocate a positivist science of administration, they amended their former position with concessions and alterations worth noting. First, they abandoned the closed systems model of organisations adhered to by the Theory Movement in the 1950's and early 1960's in favour of the open systems view of organisations. Second, influenced by the work of Barnard (1968), they assumed the behavioural science approach to the study of organisations and its focus on work behaviour in formal organisations (Hoy & Miskel). They reasoned that:

Because the classical and human relations approaches ignored the impact of social relations and formal structure, respectively, the behavioural science approach used both perspectives and added propositions drawn from psychology, sociology, political science, and economics. (p. 15)

Another concession made by Hoy and Miskel was accepting the merit of the contingency approach to leadership.

Contingency theories maintain that leadership effectiveness depends upon the fit between personality characteristics and behaviour of the leader and situational variables such as task structure, position power, and subordinate skills and attitudes. Thus, there is no one 'best' leadership style. (p. 284)

In so doing, although continuing the tradition of borrowing models from science, Hoy and Miskel deviated enough from the "old orthodoxy" of the Theory Movement to constitute a "new orthodoxy" (Evers & Lakomski, 1991, p. 60).

Even with such concessions, the limitations of the new orthodoxy are quite apparent with respect to applicability in indigenous settings. Conceding that a school is open to external influences and that there is not one best way to go about leadership has little potency for a principal of a bicultural school in which community values tend to shape the structure of the organisation and regulate interpersonal relationships within it. Furthermore, still based on Western notions of science, the new orthodoxy, as a model, is limited to Western bureaucratic forms of school organisation. A close reading of Hoy and Miskel's (1987) popular text suggests that the business of Educational Administration is completely immersed in monitoring environmental inputs and outputs without reference to teaching, learning, or curriculum. Indeed, that the 'new

orthodoxy' is not educative is demonstrated by the absence of any discussion about learning and the discussion of teaching is limited to a debate as to whether or not teaching has a professional or bureaucratic function.

### **Greenfield's Alternative**

The shortcomings of the new orthodoxy received wide criticism and spawned divergent views on theory development in Educational Administration. Certainly, the most eloquent and far reaching attack on orthodox theory in the field came from Greenfield (1975). His assault was launched from several philosophical fronts: ontological, epistemological, and axiological (Park, 1996). His first point was that organisations were not natural entities; they were invented social reality, cultural artifacts (Greenfield, 1993a, p. 152). His assertion of the social construction of reality (Berger & Luckmann, 1966) aligned with his epistemological base which claimed "that all our purported knowledge of reality, natural or social, contains an irreducibly subjective component" (Evers & Lakomski, 1991, p. 77).

Additionally, his subjectivist, phenomenological stance united two aspects the orthodox positivists tried to keep separate: facts and values. Orthodox theorists worked with facts. Values could not be accommodated and were not admitted into the positivistic discourse of the Theory Movement. Greenfield (1991), however, regarded schools as "moral orders dedicated to a broad and significant set of values" (p. 27) and argued that "administrators cannot escape from the moral dimension of administration" (Park, 1996, p. 12). For Greenfield, values became very much a part of theorising in Educational Administration. "If nothing else, we must understand that the new science of administration will be a science with values and of values" (1993, p. 157).

Whether or not Greenfield was aware of the depth of the philosophical foundations of his arguments at the inaugural presentation of his views in Bristol in 1974 (S. H. Park personal communication April 24, 1997), they had far reaching implications for theory development in Educational Administration across the international scene. Philosophically, ideologically, and methodologically, Greenfield's work also has implications for research and theory development in Educational Administration in indigenous contexts.

As a philosophical approach to understanding individuals and organisations, Greenfield's subjectivism is, generally speaking, more compatible with the philosophical orientations of indigenous societies which hold more subjective approaches to understanding themselves and the world around them than does the objectivity of Western science. Greenfield argued against our

ability to view an objective reality in favour of theory laden observations in which our beliefs and ideas shape what we see, hear, and feel (Evers & Lakomski, 1991, p. 78).

Ideologically, Greenfield was critical of the orthodox perspective of administration. He asserted that the science of administration, in spite of its claims of objectivity, was usually found on the side of the *status quo*, which started from a position of viewing things as they were and questioning them from there. "It does not question whether that which is ought to be" (Greenfield, 1993a, p. 147). He regarded systems theory and structural-functionalist thinking as the ideological hegemony in administrative studies (Greenfield, 1979, p. 98). With respect to applying theories developed in one organisational, cultural context for use in another, he cautioned researchers and social scientists to consider the cultural imperialism inherent in the process and urged that the social and organisational worlds be understood before solutions are prescribed.

In particular we need to ask whether the theory and assumptions still appear to hold in the setting where they were developed before they are recommended and applied to totally new settings. Such an examination is not only appropriate but essential in the face of an alternative view which sees organisations not as structures subject to universal laws but as cultural artifacts dependent upon the specific meaning and intention of people within them. (Greenfield, 1975, p. 74)

Methodologically, Greenfield argued for interpretive, qualitative research aimed at increasing the understanding of organisations and of individuals' actions in them, and the meanings attached to them rather than quantitative studies emphasising measurements and facts. He criticised the irrelevance of scores on standardised tests, "the clearest measure of school product" (1975, p. 93), to the goals of education. He advocated 'better' research on schools which produced more accurate depictions of the characteristics and qualities of schools and which more fully described the experience of schooling.

### **The Cultural Perspective**

Greenfield's alternative revolutionised theorising in Educational Administration (Evers & Lakomski, 1991). He shifted the focus from searching for a single, grand theory and presented an approach to theorising which, in acknowledging differences in individual and cultural belief structures, validated theories as sets of meanings as diverse as "the sets of human meanings and understandings which they are to explain" (Greenfield, 1975, p. 83). Although the critics were severe (Griffiths, 1975), his alternative approach comprised a formidable assault on preeminent theorists. Further, his insight that all experience is value-laden became a central component of

other modes of conceptualising Educational Administration which also offered alternatives to the traditional scientific model of theorising administration. Hence, Greenfield has been credited with preparing the theoretical ground for the cultural perspective (Lakomski & Evers, 1995).

Prior to Greenfield, the concept of culture had been gaining popularity in the world of business and organisational analysis (Ouchi, 1981; Gregory, 1983; Smircich, 1983a; Angus, 1995). Clearly, his reference to Hodgkinson's (1978) proposition, "in the first analysis, a philosophy of administration must be constrained and determined by cultural context and ideology" (Greenfield, 1986, p. 360) supported those who were turning to cultural considerations in theorising about Educational Administration. Sergiovanni (1986), at the time one of the main proponents of the cultural perspective in Educational Administration, echoed Greenfield when he wrote:

Within the cultural perspective organisations are viewed as artificial entities subject to the whims of human predispositions and conventions, and within organisations administrative activity is viewed as a cultural artifact. The emphasis in analysis and practice is more on understanding than explaining and on making sense of events and activities than on describing. (p. 7)

As with Greenfield's alternative, the cultural perspective was at odds with the orthodox approach to administration in several key areas. First, as cultural artifacts, organisations and the human action within them could only be understood by interpreting beliefs and meanings particular to the culture in question. Hence, cultural theorists refuted the notion of universal theories having equal currency in more than one context. Second, is what Lakomski and Evers (1995) suggested as the 'heart' of the cultural view, its emphasis on "all those aspects that do not, and indeed cannot, come into the scope of the scientific approach - aspects that are believed to accord us our quintessential human nature" (p. 10). Here the issue was differences between human actions and the natural behaviour of things. Scientific, natural laws could explain and predict the behaviour of heated or cooled metals. However, behaviourism, in attempting to do the same with humans, had surpassed its theoretical capability. Cultural theorists adopted the Weberian emphasis of social science on the interpretation of action in terms of subjective meanings (Silverman, 1983). Hence, Sergiovanni (1986) contrasted human actions from natural behaviours in terms of the preconceptions, assumptions, motives, and meanings behind them (p. 3).

Emphasising understanding built upon a study of languages, beliefs, myths, metaphors, and rituals, cultural analysis of schools and educational organisations provided a viable means of illuminating the details and textures of the complexities and interrelationships within them

(Lakomski, 1987, p. 117). Such an emphasis has clear implications for theorising about administration and leadership in various cultural contexts.

As with all perspectives, the cultural perspectives has its critics. Critical theorists regarded the cultural perspective as providing the theoretical tools for administrators to control or manipulate the culture of a school (Angus, 1995). Here, the value in understanding the culture of an organisation was in being able to manipulate it. Evers and Lakomski (1991) suggested that at an epistemological level, the cultural perspective with its emphasis on 'inner' meanings outran all available observational evidence (p. 133). Ultimately, the conclusions drawn from the cultural perspective rested on the 'hermeneutic circle'; interpretations and interpretations of interpretations (Lakomski & Evers 1995, p. 11).

In spite of such criticisms, the cultural perspective offers potential benefits to theorising within indigenous educational organisations. The emphasis here is on benefits to theorising 'in' indigenous educational organisations. To begin, the cultural perspective aligns with the holistic perspective of indigenous societies. As Taylor (1986, p. 126) pointed out, 'culture' has a holistic character that defies the atomistic, disaggregation involved in 'scientific' inquiry. To remove a single element from the unity of a cultural framework, to decontextualise it for analysis, statistical or otherwise, is to render it meaningless. Therefore, whether of societies, groups, or small organisations, studying a culture is a study of wholes.

Theorising within the cultural perspective also has a high capacity for relevance (Sandor & Wiggins, 1985) because of its emphasis on the importance of context in attempting to understand the patterns of action that are meaningful to others (Smircich, 1983b). The concept of relevance, implying value and importance, which are both culturally defined, has culturally specific implications. Again, the cultural perspective, like Greenfield's subjectivism, disregards the notion of a universalistic theory in Educational Administration. Unlike the orthodox theories of administration, in as much as the cultural perspective supports the validity of culturally specific knowledge claims and explanations of human actions, the epistemological foundations of such knowledge are also validated (Hallinger, 1995). Thus, cultural theorists shredded ineffectual grand theory into innumerable, self-referenced and similarly defined and validated theories.

### **Critical Theorists**

With some qualifications, critical theorists shared with cultural theorists an appreciation of organisations as cultures (Bates, 1982). They also launched an articulate assault against orthodox

theory in Educational Administration (Angus, 1995). Influenced by the work of Habermas (1972), and viewing raised consciousness and human emancipation as the task of social science, critical theory sought to determine whose interests were being served by current structures of authority, curriculum, and pedagogy. In addition, critical theorists undertook to determine the relationship between what is taught, how it is taught, and economic and political hegemonies (Hoy, 1994).

Bates (1982 & 1983), a major proponent of the critical approach to the study and practice of administration, located the science of Educational Administration within the positivistic, hypothetico-deductive tradition and referred to Educational Administration as “a technology of control” (Bates, 1993, p. 46). Further, perhaps correctly, critical theorists have argued that traditional studies of leadership have usually been conducted in a framework which assumes that hierarchy is natural and have employed a discourse of technocratic rationality where the primary focus is on the efficiency and effectiveness of unexamined ends of education (Retallick, 1990). These observations prompted critical theorists (Bates, 1982 & 1983; Foster, 1986) to reconstruct and redefine the notion of educational leadership to bring it more within the rubric of a critical practice.

Clearly some of the tools of the critical theorist are of use to educational leaders, indigenous or otherwise, in extrapolating ideologies of oppression and domination from mainstream, hegemonic practices. Critical theorists’ assault on orthodox theories of Educational Administration share some of the same armaments as the cultural theorists and introduce others. However, as with cultural theorists, the greatest potential benefits of critical theory to theorising in indigenous settings is for such an approach to occur within indigenous educational organisations. Perhaps though, there would be a diminished need for critical theory (Lane, 1983) in indigenous contexts which do not fully support Western notions of bureaucratic organisation and leadership. For instance, would administration still be regarded as a technology of control in settings in which leadership is a shared phenomenon heavily influenced by followship?

Presently, it appears that some critical theorists are not aware that some aspects of the desired reconstruction of educational organisations and their administration have been integral to indigenous epistemologies and indigenous forms of social and educational organisation for some time. Clearly, Retallick (1990) is somewhat ethnocentric and culturally naive when he refers to the Habermasian concern over ‘our’ preoccupation with the technical and instrumental questions and neglecting the communicative sphere of life (p. 8). As described previously in this chapter, indigenous world views do not place a premium on reductionist, technical, and instrumental

questions at the expense of the “communicative sphere of life.” Further, “a view of leadership reconstructed from the theory of communicative action will be one which establishes and maintains a structure to facilitate symmetrical communication and the building of consensus” (Retallick, 1990, p. 10), is not new in any way. Communication structures to facilitate consensus have long been operating in indigenous societies (Harker & McConnochie, 1985; McCue, 1990; McCarthy, 1994; Smith & Smith, 1996). Perhaps, on examination, a number of the desired components of the reconstruction of administration and leadership sought by critical theorists might be found in indigenous societies. First, however, regardless of paradigmatic approach, theorists might find it productive to relax their adherence to monocultural forms of organisation and leadership either as a focus of critical analysis or as models for implementation.

### **The Invalidity of Cross-Cultural Theory Transference**

It was the universalistic, monocultural nature of theorising in Educational Administration that, through the years, has underpinned the criticism of numerous scholars toward the exportation of administrative theories from the developed to the developing world (Riggs, 1964; Kiggundu, Jorgensen, & Hafsi, 1983; Newton, 1985; Harber, 1993; Hallinger, 1995). Given the parallels between indigenous societies, “fourth worlds”, and developing countries, “third worlds”, (Barnhardt, 1991; Barnhardt & Harrison, 1993; Young, 1995), the work and concerns of these scholars have implications for indigenous contexts. At present, only one scholar has been found who has been critical of applying traditional, monocultural theories and practices of administration into indigenous educational settings. His work will be reviewed first.

MacNeill (1985), himself a principal at the time, wrote more from a perspective of reflective practice than of theory. He was influenced by the work of Kearins, (1982) and Harris (1980). They suggested that Aboriginal Australian students had distinctive learning styles that required different teaching strategies to optimise their learning in schools. If this was the case, MacNeill reasoned that principals would need to adopt different administrative styles than those found in urban, mainstream Australian schools. Although brief, MacNeill isolated several of Greenfield’s notions and advocated their relevance for Aboriginal students and schools.

The importance of self was central to Greenfield’s work and, as described earlier in this review, central to the Aboriginal world view. MacNeill argued that the importance of self was also central to Aboriginal education. Inside the school the Aboriginal self is identified and self-actualised. Within and beyond the school all individuals’ views about education are welcome. All



“selfs,” either in or out of the school, have value and credibility. Consistent with valuing the self, MacNeill employed Greenfield’s moral, valuing position to justify inclusive decision-making processes in which all parties involved in the outcome of a decision have a say in determining the ‘ought’ in Aboriginal education.

MacNeill also concurred with Greenfield’s criticism of the mechanistic training of educational administrators. Rather than being armed with an Masters of Business Administration and a universal technocratic formula for administrative practice, MacNeill recommended a suite of qualities: humility, empathy, reflectiveness, and insight as being most suitable for the administration of Aboriginal schools.

Even though MacNeill’s (1985) contribution to administration in indigenous schools advocated an alternative administrative style, there were two important shortcomings to his contribution. First, although he suggested changing administrative styles to be more appropriate to Aboriginal contexts, he made no mention of changing the organisational structures of Aboriginal schools to more accurately reflect Aboriginal world views. Here, I agree with Wearne (1986) and Harris (1990) that altering administrative styles without any changes to organisational structures would remain incongruent with the Aboriginal context. Second, in spite of MacNeill’s criticism of orthodox administrative theory and practice and his adoption of aspects of Greenfield’s alternative to more closely align with Aboriginal contexts, he failed to go the one step further. He neglected to suggest that the most appropriate source of models and theories for administrative activity in Aboriginal schools, is Aboriginal society. Applying Greenfield’s theories to Aboriginal contexts would probably not be something that Greenfield himself would recommend.

A sensitivity to exporting theories, regardless of their nature, from one cultural context to another characterised works by Riggs, (1964); Kiggundu, Jorgensen, and Hafsi, (1983); Newton, (1985); Harber, (1993); Harber and Dadey, (1993); and Hallinger, (1995). Each of these writers has expressed concern about transferring theories of administration from the developed to the developing world.

Riggs (1964), a public administrator, wrote at a time when generic theories of administration were appropriate for diverse types of organisations. Even so, he cautioned that choosing an appropriate model had to be done carefully. Too often, formal models from industrialised countries were inappropriately chosen for use in developing countries. The consequence was confusion rather than clarification. Given that “we have no way of thinking about unfamiliar

things except in terms of models” (Riggs, 1964, p. 5), the selection of a model is very important. “If the model is well chosen, it helps us understand the phenomena to which it is applied; if poorly chosen, it leads to misunderstanding” (p. 5). Part of the problem, claimed Riggs, was the reliance of administrative theory on prescription rather than description. Given that values and organisational forms shift from one cultural context to another, that which is deemed as good practice in one setting may not be in another. “Prescriptions that are valid in one context may be harmful in another” (p. 11). Consequently, he developed the model of a prismatic society, described elsewhere in this study, to facilitate a better way of understanding social and bureaucratic organisation in developing countries in order to assist with administrative theory selection and modification for use in developing contexts.

Kiggundu et al. (1983) were concerned with issues of correspondence or fit between Western-based theories and data from developing countries in the building of a universal administrative science. Their analysis of ninety-three articles on organisation in developing countries led to three conclusions. First, there was a great deal of interest in using administrative theories and techniques in developing countries. Second, there was a strong fit when the technical core of conventional theory was imported into a developing context. As expected, this was most evident in those instances in which Western organisations were operating in developing countries. This finding supports the claim that conventional theory works when the organisation can behave as a closed system, and hence has little value in an educational context.

Finally, there was a weak fit in those instances when those aspects of conventional Western theory relating to the organisation’s relationship with its environment were applied in developing countries. Here, cultural norms overruled the dictates of the imported theory. This finding supported the notion that administrative practice is culture-bound and led Kiggundu et al. (1983) to the conclusion that theories and their contingencies developed in Western settings may be either irrelevant or inadequate in developing contexts.

Newton (1985), referring to the West Indian context and concerned with the issue of preparing educational administrators in developing areas, presented an articulate and convincing argument against importing theories and models of training from the developed world. Once again, relying heavily on Greenfield for philosophical and theoretical support, he urged extreme caution in applying models from the developed world to solve administrative problems in the developing world. In spite of the ample fissures in the monolithic perspective in the field of Educational Administration, Newton questioned why there were no alternatives to standard

textbooks presenting orthodox positions. He cited Greenfield in advocating the need for the study of specific organisations to provide a base for the training of administrators. Ironically, in support of this line of his argument, Newton referred to a statement made by Griffiths five years after Greenfield introduced his 'alternative'. His steadfastness to an overarching theory clearly compromised, Griffiths remarked on the need to replace efforts toward developing a general theory for more restricted theories in light of the vast differences between organisations (Newton, 1983, p. 196).

Harber (1993), referring to the work of Riggs (1964) thirty years earlier, continued the assault on the on-going practice of transferring models of administration developed by and for Western nations into developing countries into which they did not fit comfortably. He argued that:

Universal theories of educational or other forms of management and administration are a chimera. Rather, there is a necessity to begin with administrative reality in particular economic and cultural contexts and then attempt to explain the phenomena that occur. Thus judgments about 'good' or 'poor' management cannot be made on a universal or culture-free basis. (p. 495)

Harber's concluding remarks were directed to the paucity of research into the purposes and nature of Educational Administration in developing countries and the subsequent lack of theory to explain many characteristics of schools and their administration (p. 496). Clearly, his comments also have relevance for researching practice and theories of administration in indigenous schools.

Harber and Dadey (1993), discussing the job of headteacher in an African context, restated the platitude of the headteacher being central to the success or failure of a school. In light of this, they questioned why so little was known about what headteachers actually do. The answer they then offered was that theoretical writing on school organisation had been overly influenced by inappropriate systems theory and not adequately grounded in empirical reality (p. 147). Theorising done in European or North American contexts was either inapplicable or had negative consequences for administrative practice or for the training of educational administrators in developing contexts. Harber and Dadey called for research to be conducted by experienced researchers in this neglected area. Too often, it was claimed (p. 159) that what little research had been done was conducted by people with little or no research background. Once again, Harber and Dadey's concerns spoke also to the fact that no similar research has been conducted in indigenous educational settings.

Representing South-East Asia, Hallinger (1995), aligned himself with the cultural perspective. He was circumspect in observing that at a time when information and communication technology was essentially shrinking the world, policies and practices which effectively addressed problems in one national context were easily known and considered for use in other national settings. The caution is in first “understanding how culture shapes both the nature of leadership and the portability of knowledge” (p. 4). He suggested that the cultural perspective reframes and opens to question the validity of extending any social science knowledge beyond the boundaries of its originating culture (p. 1). As culture is the source of shared values in a society, culture defines values orientations, shapes organisational context, influences interactions within that context, and determines prevailing goals of an educational system (p. 10). As Riggs (1964) did more than thirty years earlier, Hallinger also directed attention to differing notions of ‘best practice’ across cultures. Hence, once again, prescriptive theories applicable in Western milieus were of questionable validity in other cultures. He concluded that leadership is best approached as a culturally dependent variable and that any theoretical conceptualising about it be done within the context of the culture in which the administrator and organisation are situated (p. 11). Although concerned about the preponderance of theorising in Western contexts as against doing so in Asian-Pacific settings, Hallinger’s concerns were equally relevant for indigenous contexts.

### **Hodgkinson’s Analysis of Value**

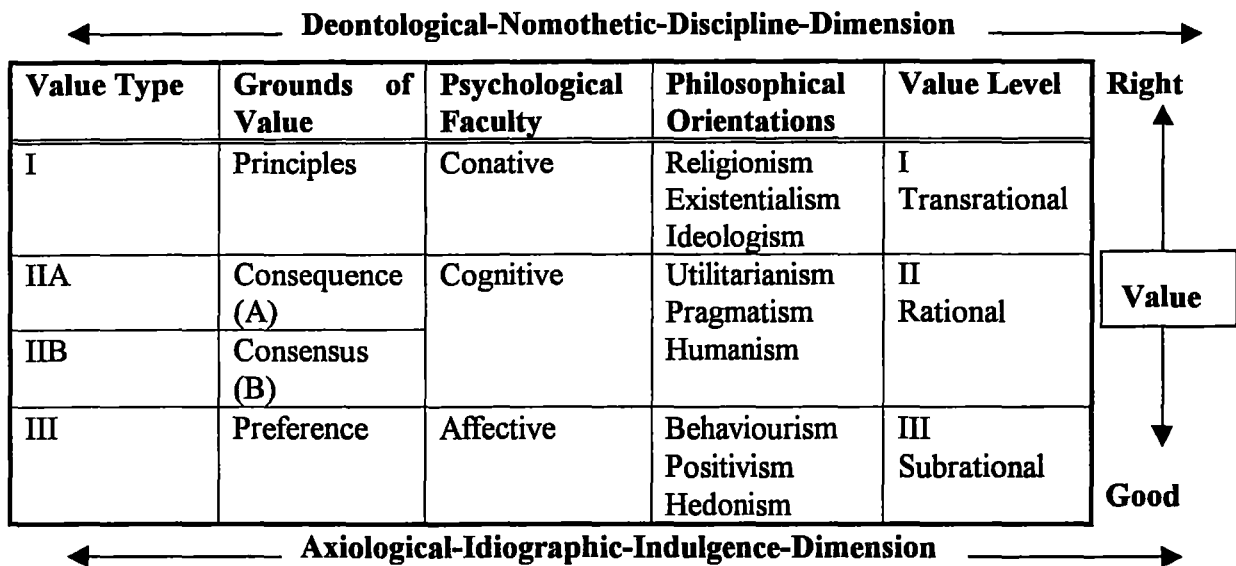
Following the Greenfield alternative to understanding organisations, cultural theorists also argued against orthodox, monocultural theorising in favor of validating theory development in culturally specific contexts. Diverse norms and values thus became legitimised for theorising in equally diverse cultural and organisational contexts. Cultural theorists made it possible for judgments about good or poor management to be done within the cultural context of the organisation in question. However, judgements about good or poor management entail the adjudication of value and purpose. Neither the scientism of the orthodox or new orthodox theorists, nor the subjectivism of Greenfield, or the cultural validation of the culturalists provided tools adequate to the task of deciphering the riddle of value conflict. Here, regardless of cultural context, Hodgkinson’s (1978, 1983, 1991, & 1996) important contribution afforded the means and method to ask and answer such questions as, “effectiveness for what, leadership towards what, change to what good purpose, and implementation of whose values, and with what justification?” (Greenfield, 1993b, p. 162).

Hodgkinson's (1978, 1983, 1991, & 1996) articulate criticism of the approach taken by traditional theorists in Educational Administration rendered the science of administration into an interdisciplinary humanism. While many scholars and practitioners continued to pursue Hoy and Miskel's (1987) protracted assertion that "administrative practice could become less of an art and more of a science" (p. iii), Hodgkinson argued convincingly that leadership is a humane and practical moral art (1991). Informed by modern philosophers and social scientists, Hodgkinson's position was also supported by classical Western thought from Aristotle and the ancient Greeks, Eastern thought from Buddha, Confucius, and various Sanskrit texts. In spite of, or perhaps because of such grounding, the currency of his contribution to theorising in Educational Administration has value in Western, Eastern, and indigenous contexts.

First, Hodgkinson took a philosophical rather than a scientific approach to understanding administration. Indeed, "administration is philosophy in action" (1978, p. 3). For Hodgkinson, while leadership and administration were synonymous, administration and management were placed on opposite ends of a continuum. Administration, at the top of the organisational status hierarchy, is more valuational, strategic, qualitative, and reflective than management, at the middle and lower levels of organisation, which is more factual, technical, quantitative, and active. "Administration is the art of influencing men to accomplish organisational goals while management is the ancillary and subordinate science of specifying and implementing means to accomplish the same ends" (Hodgkinson, 1978, p. 5). The central problem of administration was seen as the reconciliation of the self-interest of the individual, the ideographic dimension, with the collective interest of the organisation, the nomothetic dimension (1991, pp. 67-85). Addressing this problem involved understanding the purposes of the organisation, which, in education are often obscure, and also understanding the values and their interplay at both the ideographic and nomothetic dimensions.

Hodgkinson contended that value analysis and conflict management were indispensable to decision making and leadership. He stressed the need for leaders to be aware of the "deep roots of purpose which underlie their organisations" (1991, p. 27). In that education is defined in terms of its purposes, he delineated three strands of purposes of education (Hodgkinson, 1993). Each of the aesthetic, economic, and ideological purposes of education correlate with a type of value. Hence, understanding purposes requires comprehending and navigating the values that drive them. Given the paramount importance of values as the source of all meaning (1991, p. 227) at both the ideographic and nomothetic dimensions, Hodgkinson gave values a structure which facilitated the

adjudication of value claims (Evers & Lakomski, 1991). He outlined four grounds for the justification of whether an action or event is right or good (Hodgkinson, 1983, p. 38). Hierarchically organised, value judgements at the highest level are beyond reason. They are transrational acts of faith or principles. At the lowest level the value justification is based on preference, something is deemed good on the basis of being liked. Sandwiched between principles and preferences are justifications based on rationality in the form of consensus or consequence. Consensual justification occurs when one adopts a value position based on social norms and public opinion. Slightly higher level values come into play when the future consequences of an action are analysed and a judgement is made on the outcome. Together, forming a template, these four levels of value comprise Hodgkinson's value paradigm, reproduced in Figure 3.2, which can be used to facilitate the classification of values, the value analysis of decision making, and the resolution of value conflicts.

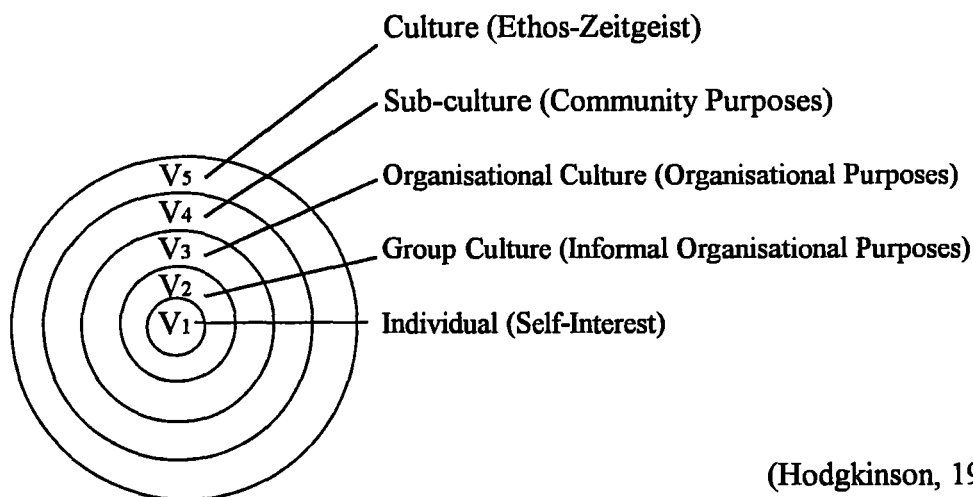
**Figure 3.2 - The Value Paradigm**

(Hodgkinson, 1983, p. 38; 1991, p. 97).

Helpful to educational leaders in all cultural contexts, several aspects of Hodgkinson's work have particular significance to indigenous contexts. He delineated the following concerns and outlined their resolution:

- The central problem of administration is compounded by culture.
- The values of education are the values of the *status quo*.
- The bureaucratic structural organisation of formal education has remained essentially unchanged over time in spite of its shortcomings and pathologies.

First, administrative decision-making, the field of action, is a field of values. These overlapping and subsuming fields of value are illustrated in Figure 3.3. That "the play of cultural forces from above and from below, from without and within, compound the central problem of administration," (Hodgkinson, 1991, p. 83) is an understatement for educative leaders in indigenous schools. The reconciliation of the individual with the organisation becomes the reconciliation of the culture and values of an indigenous community with those of the wider, and dominant society. Differences in worldviews and epistemologies between indigenous and non-indigenous societies have been described earlier. Even though such differences may be too great to be reconciled, Hodgkinson's value paradigm (Figure 3.2) enables educative leaders in such circumstances to perform a values audit on competing values. Such an audit lends insight into questions of leadership for what purpose and of whose values.

**Figure 3.3 - Field of Action**

(Hodgkinson, 1991, p. 44)

Second, the values of formal education, given its vast scope, long history, and appropriation by the state, are the values of the status quo. As such, they tend to be inherently conservative, resistant to change, and inflexible in their accommodation of other value sets. Once again, Hodgkinson's values paradigm provides a means for leaders of indigenous schools to articulate the interplay of values between the wider society and their school community and to lobby for increased representation of indigenous values.

Last, Hodgkinson (1991), in noting that the bureaucratic organisational structure of formal education has remained essentially unchanged over time, regardless of various chronic bureaupathologies, posited an alternate organisational structure that may have relevance for indigenous communities. Defined as illnesses of bureaucracy, bureaupathologies are those problematic aspects of bureaucracy such as hierarchy, superficiality, and power that often deviate from the ideal type (p. 57). To avoid such pathologies, he suggested that an organisational form analogous to that of the family might be a more suitable form for educational organisation than a bureaucracy. He argues his point by bringing attention to the tolerance and acceptance of diversity typical of families, extended families, clans, tribes, and communities.

No one is equal! It is understood that every member is unique and allowances of sympathy and compassion, quite irrelevant to the logical rational bureaucratic form, are continuously made and universally applied. No one is treated equally but everyone is treated equitably. The implications for leadership/administration are plain enough: the leader must get to know the followers, with insight if not with intimacy. He or she must cultivate some of the positive qualities of a parent. (Hodgkinson, 1991, p. 61)



Lending credence to this proposal, Hodgkinson (1991) directed attention to the recent and successful familial emphasis in industry and commerce. Emphasising that familial forms of organisation require the tacit basis of faith for their success, Hodgkinson was, perhaps inadvertently, strengthening the case for the appropriateness of such forms for education organisations in indigenous contexts.

### **Duignan and Macpherson's Practical Theory**

Hodgkinson's philosophical approach to the study and practice of Educational Administration has since had a major influence on some important research done in Educational Administration. A case in point was the Educative Leadership Project (ELP), launched by three state education systems and a group of scholars in Australia in 1986. At the time, stimulated by international concern over the absence of clarity as to what constituted 'good' educational leadership and how it was to be achieved, several countries implemented a variety of programmes to address these questions. In each of New Zealand, the United States, and Australia it was agreed that Educational Leadership needed to be redefined. Consequently, the recommendations of the Picot Report (Tomorrow's Schools, 1988) continued to have ramifications for the rearrangement of New Zealand's education system years later (Rae, 1996). The United States responded by offering a variety of remedial strategies generally aimed at improving the preparation and professional development of educational administrators. The ELP in Australia, however, took a different approach.

Purporting to "to generate a new synthesis of experience, research and theory on leadership, and to develop complementary in-service and postgraduate learning materials" (Duignan & Macpherson, 1992, p. 2), the ELP began by literally redefining educational leadership. The co-directors of the ELP explicitly qualified that the processes and findings of the ELP were to be understood within their Australian context and used with caution elsewhere. Nevertheless, several of the assumptions and processes of the research design of the ELP might offer methodological and theoretical support appropriate for theorising on leadership in indigenous schools. Four assumptions of ELP are proposed here for consideration.

- The wisest approach to leadership in education should be educative in intent and outcome;
- schools are cultures, not natural systems;

- theory-building about educative leadership should come after new syntheses of experience and theory on major dilemmas of leadership had been generated afresh and tested through in-service activities and analysis; and
- the most trustworthy base for theory-building about educative leadership was the refined collective wisdom of specialist theorists and exemplary practitioners.

(Duignan & Macpherson, 1992, p. 1)

First, adopting the adjective 'educative' implies more than the commonly cited elements of leadership found in the literature on Educational Administration. The ELP's use of 'educative' shifted the focus beyond attitudes, techniques, styles, and behaviours of educational leaders, to concerns with ways of knowing valuing, altering, and leading organisations in ways that are coherent with the cultural norms of the organisation. Thus, in conjunction with the second assumption of viewing organisations as cultures, educative leadership was perceived as a process of clarifying values and negotiating conflicts over what is important within a larger process of cultural elaboration (Duignan & Macpherson, 1992). Clearly, Hodgkinson's values paradigm could be used to assist with this process. Indigenous educational communities could employ aspects of Hodgkinson's work and the educative focus of the ELP to help clarify the values driving the purposes and practices of leadership in indigenous schools.

Next, the ELP assumption that theory-building about educative leadership should come after new syntheses of experience and theory on major dilemmas of leadership had been generated afresh and tested through in-service activities and analysis, could have a place in indigenous contexts. Rather than my solitary attempt at articulating theories of leadership in indigenous schools, a far more fruitful endeavour would be to engage numerous principals of indigenous schools in synthesising their experiences and generating theories through in-service education and analysis. The project design of the ELP entailed six months of preplanning and spanned six years. It involved the engagement of academic specialists and exemplary practitioners. In addition, a series of workshops, lectures, and in-service materials were developed, and the responses of more than 1,000 practitioners informed the process of theory construction for the practical theory arrived at through the ELP (Duignan & Macpherson, 1992). I suggest that if such an approach were to be taken to understanding and articulating theories of leadership in use in indigenous schools, the results would be profoundly valuable for the education of indigenous students and for the professional development of their principals.

Finally, the assumption of ELP that the most trustworthy base for theory-building about educative leadership was the refined collective wisdom of specialist theorists and exemplary

practitioners, with modifications, also has applicability in indigenous contexts. It would be best not to apply the exemplary parameter to participating practitioners. The main reason for this suggestion is that system leaders may not hold the same definitions of exemplary practice as leaders and members of indigenous communities. Preferably, a definition of 'exemplary' practice would emerge from the process of refining the collective wisdom of theorists and practitioners. The benefits of this process would likely be equaled by its level of difficulty and complexity.

For several reasons, the greatest difficulty would probably revolve around participants making their tacit knowledge explicit (Polanyi, 1967). In their study of principals, Blumberg and Greenfield (1980) noted that although principals commonly knew what worked and understood their reasons for action, they could not explain them. That is, regardless of effectiveness, they could not explain their theories of action (Argyris & Schön, 1974). This inability to articulate theories in use, and perhaps even espoused theories (Argyris & Schön, 1974) could be compounded in indigenous contexts because of what Hampton (1995) referred to as the tacit nature of indigenous educational practice. It could be further compounded by language in that it cannot be assumed that principals of indigenous schools would speak English as their first language. Hence, Polanyi's (1967) observation that "we know more than we can tell" (p. 4) has potential to be compounded if an ELP process, using English as a common language, was embarked upon. In spite of the difficulties and complexities: logistical, conceptual, financial, and theoretical, an ELP-like process would, in all likelihood, generate a reasonably accurate and practical theory of indigenous educative leadership.

### **Evers and Lakomski's Coherence Theory of Evidence**

As the work of Duignan and Macpherson (1992) has been proposed here to inform a methodology for theory development, the work of Evers and Lakomski (1991 & 1995) is proposed for assisting with theory selection and facilitating the justification of knowledge claims in theories of educative leadership in indigenous contexts. For Evers and Lakomski, the nature and justification of knowledge, the epistemological base of administrative decision making, including its framework for justification was of quintessential importance (1995).

Since any theory can be made to correspond with empirical findings if statements continue to be added to it, Evers and Lakomski (1991) ruled out supporting a theory on empirical grounds. Instead, arguing that there is more to justification than an appeal to some foundation of public, sensory evidence (1995), they proposed that theory selection be based on the degree to which a

theory coheres with the evidence. Referred to as coherence considerations, the best theory is the one that most thoroughly possesses the extra-empirical virtues of simplicity, consistency, coherence, comprehensiveness, conservativeness, and fecundity.

Evers and Lakomski (1991) applied the coherence criteria to theorising in Educational Administration by:

1. choosing simple theories, using the least amount of explanatory resources, over more complex theories;
2. requiring that a theory is consistent and contains fewer anomalies, less counter-evidence, and falsifying instances;
3. seeking comprehensive theories which explain more phenomena rather than less;
4. preferring conservative theories that do not outrun their own explanatory resources and do not presume attributes for which there is no evidence;
5. striving for fecundity by invoking a small class of principles to explain a large class of things; and
6. demanding coherence in the sense that coherence can be regarded as a supreme criterion that regulates the criteria of super empirical virtues by requiring they cohere with one another and that they share the same explanatory resources.

(Evers & Lakomski, 1991 & 1995)

Additionally, with respect to epistemological coherence and consistency, administrative theories are required to cohere with the best accounts of human learning and be consistent with more reliable bodies of knowledge elsewhere in our total world view. The consequence is an administrative theory that is a component of the most coherent global theory we can construct. This coherentist, holistic approach to theory justification taken by Evers and Lakomski appears to be compatible with the holistic epistemologies of indigenous peoples and could conceivably have applicability for theorising in such contexts.

### **Summary and Conclusions: The Need for Indigenous Theories of Educational Administration**

This chapter has attempted to provide an overview of indigenous world views and the epistemologies and organisational forms conveyed within them. In addition, consideration was given to literature on the principalship. Delineated also was a summative outline of the history of theory development in Educational Administration. Juxtaposed, it became apparent that neither literature on the principalship nor on theory development in Educational Administration has been informed by, or written for informing, theory and practice in indigenous contexts. Although a monocultural bias permeates the literature to the extent that it is largely irrelevant to indigenous

settings, there are aspects of various theoretical, philosophical, and methodological approaches that might be beneficially used in indigenous settings.

Presently, large gaps exist between ways of teaching, learning, organising, and theorising in administration in indigenous contexts. In order to narrow those gaps, and possibly improve learning outcomes and address issues of equity and self-determination called for by indigenous people, theorising in Educational Administration in indigenous settings must be undertaken. By attempting to articulate theories of leadership in use in indigenous schools, this study moves in that direction. The following chapter discusses the methodology used to conduct this research.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **METHODOLOGY**

Because our coherentist conception of educational administration research methodology is in principle open, believing in theory competition which builds on initial touchstone, however modest, we argued that it facilitates the growth of knowledge. A research methodology which possesses this quality, we submit, is truly educative, in education and educational administration alike.

Evers & Lakomski, 1991

#### **Introduction**

This research sought to articulate theories of educative leadership in use in indigenous schools through a study of the perceptions of those people in designated and recognised leadership positions. Usually referred to as principals, though depending on the structural and cultural context of the school, these people may be variously termed managers, directors, elders, councilors, or they may act as a flexible collective of decision makers. The methodology and procedures used in this study are presented in this chapter with justifications.

#### **Brief Description of Investigation**

To serve the purpose of this study the research plan entailed case studies of schools that reflected strongly their indigenous community; four in each of Northern Territory (NT), Australia; British Columbia (BC), Canada; and in the greater Auckland area of New Zealand (NZ). The rationale for this group of case studies is discussed below. The researcher spent at least a week observing, interviewing and in many cases, participating, in each school community. This visit was preceded by extensive entry negotiations and followed up with other interactive data analysis by mail, phone, and email as elaborated below. Principals were the key participants in the inquiry. Due to unforeseen circumstances, one principal became ill and another took an unexpected leave during the field research. This meant that two schools, one in New Zealand and one in NT, were unavailable for research purposes.

## **Rationale**

As mentioned in previous chapters, a great deal of research has been done on ways of learning and teaching in indigenous schools (Philips, 1972; Harris, 1980 & 1990; Christie, 1987; Hughes, 1987; Hughes & More, 1993; Hughes, More & Williams, 1995). Little work has been done, however, in the area of educative leadership in such schools (Gartner, 1983). While innumerable studies continue to generate prescriptive theories of what constitutes good school leadership, virtually all research and theory development is generated in, and for, schools and their leaders serving traditional, Western models of schooling (Harber, 1993). Characteristics of educative leadership unique to indigenous schools, and of critical importance to the teaching and learning that goes on within them, have been neglected in the literature. Both MacNeill (1985) and Newton (1985) argued for the need for more research into the realities of school administration in indigenous contexts to inform the development of theories of educative leadership and the preparation and training of leaders for indigenous schools. However, more than ten years after the need was expressed little, if any, such research had been conducted. Given the lack of research in this area, I set out to address the two questions that follow.

## **Research Questions**

- What is the nature of valued educative leadership services in indigenous schools?
- What attributes of such leadership are shared among culturally and geographically disparate indigenous communities?

I felt that the answers to these questions would help to:

- generate and contribute to theories of educative leadership in indigenous schools;
- inform my own practice and that of my colleagues; and
- influence the preparation of principals for indigenous schools to better serve the learning needs of their students and colleagues.

## **Approach**

It was noted above that the intent of this study was to articulate theories of educative leadership in indigenous schools. It was, therefore, located within the interpretive school of social science (Silverman, 1993), and employed a qualitative and exploratory strategy. The approach taken was interpretive. It was to further understanding of the subjective experiences of educative leaders in indigenous schools (Burrell & Morgan, 1979) rather than to evaluate or prescribe. The purpose of

the study and nature of the research questions entailed that certain data be gathered and appropriate processes be employed to process that data.

Four sites in each national context were selected to gather and compare comprehensive and complex organisational data across emergent categories. The same data analysis strategy was considered equally appropriate for international comparisons. Using each site as a case for comparison meant that this study was a form of case study research. There are many definitions of 'case study'. Given the special nature of organisational case studies, Ragin (1992) stated that, "at a minimum, every study is a case study because it is an analysis of social phenomena specific to time and place" (p. 2). A somewhat tighter definition was provided by Eisenhardt (1989). "The case study is a research strategy which focuses on understanding the dynamics present within single settings. . . . Case studies can involve either single or multiple cases, and numerous levels of analysis" (p. 534).

Among the listed benefits of case studies presented by Adelman, Jenkins, and Chemise (1984), allowing generalisations either about an instance or from an instance to a class, is of particular relevance to this study. Many scholars and researchers have provided extensive justifications for case-study research. Merriam (1988) suggested that "a case study approach is often the best methodology for addressing problems in which understanding is sought in order to improve practice" (xiii). Stenhouse (1985) argued that "case study research should be of benefit and interest to those people who are studied and it . . . should be directed to improving the capacity of those who are studied to do their job" (p. 269). It is shown below that this research satisfies Stenhouse's edict.

In brief, the methodology cohered with a non-foundational, pragmatic epistemological framework (Berrell & Macpherson, 1995) which will be described below. It employed a case study research design and ethnographic field techniques, such as participant and non-participant observation and semi-structured and structured interviews. Time was spent in each school community interviewing and observing the principal and other educative leaders in action to understand and explain local notions of educative leadership. Data were gathered from the selected sites in each country and analysed for touchstone, or commonalities. Similarly, data from all sites were compared using an evolving framework developed using the constant comparative method advocated by Glaser and Strauss (1967). The constant comparative method is an iterative process of combing the coding of emergent categories and their properties with theory



formulations during data analysis. This method also helped determine the degree of touchstone across international contexts. The details of this approach are now discussed.

A non-foundational, pragmatic epistemological framework maximises the researcher's opportunities to accept knowledge claims eclectically and non-preferentially (Evers & Lakomski, 1991). As opposed to foundational epistemologies which justify knowledge claims on foundations such as empirical evidence, personal experience, or compatibility with a particular partitionist paradigm, (Walker, 1992) non-foundationalist epistemologies are holistic. Knowledge claims are justified on the basis of their internal coherence in conjunction with their coherence with empirical evidence, personal experience, and theoretical positioning for understanding the world. Furthermore, assuming a post-paradigmatic stance disentangles knowledge claims made from the limits of exclusive knowledge systems and the problem of vicious regress, common to methodologies dominated by a paradigm (Macpherson 1990 & 1995). Pragmatism suggests that the theory that makes the most sense under most circumstances be accepted provisionally (Hoy 1994). Such an approach to the arbitration or reconciliation of contested knowledge claims allowed for theories that emerged from the research to be evaluated in several ways.

One approach to evaluating theories is the coherentist approach developed in Educational Administration by Evers and Lakomski (1991). It employ the extra-empirical virtues of simplicity, consistency, coherence, comprehensiveness, conservativeness, and fecundity to theories in competition to determine which theory or combination of theories most thoroughly satisfies all the criteria. Another approach, recommended by Eisenhardt (1989) for theory building from case-study research, considers strength of method, the evidence grounding the theory, adequate data display (to allow readers to make their own assessment of the 'fit' with theory), and adequate information on data collection procedures and analysis. Eisenhardt's concluding criterion, that strong theory-building research result in new insights, echoed that of fecundity posited by Evers and Lakomski. Both sets of theory testing criteria were employed in this research.

The final component of the approach taken in this study to be clarified pertains to the ethnographic field techniques employed. An early and cursory skim through the literature gave the impression that scholars could not agree on what is and what is not 'ethnography'. Most, however, appeared to agree with Burgess (1984) that, in school settings "ethnography provides a detailed description of the actions and activities of the members of the school and gives an account of their culture" (p. 198). In answer to the question, "what constitutes doing ethnography?" Burgess suggested "participant and non-participant observation and unstructured interviews" (p.

198). Macpherson (1984) noted that “ethnography has three distinct categories of meaning: as methodology (incorporating methods and rules, and epistemological justification), as a collection of fieldwork techniques, and as the account produced by an ethnographer” (p. 70).

Throughout the fieldwork for this study I accepted Spradley’s (1979) view that “ethnography starts with a curious attitude of almost complete ignorance” (p. 4). While doing the field research, I assumed an attitude of not knowing how leadership happened in indigenous schools and asked participants to explain. Ethnographic techniques cohered with the fundamental purpose of the project. As Spradley (1979) explained, “the essential core of ethnography is this concern with the meaning of actions and events to the people we seek to understand” (p. 5).

### **Theoretical Framework**

The theoretical framework that shaped and guided this research was derived from a search of literature spanning five broad categories. The process used to search these categories of literature was iterative in each category and across categories. Reading in one category typically provided focus cues in another category which consequently led deeper into the previous and other categories.

The first category of literature reviewed was conducted under the general descriptor of educational leadership. This broad-based review established a context for the notion of leadership in school communities and, in conjunction with prior professional experience, enhanced my theoretical sensitivity to key concepts associated with educational leadership (Strauss and Corbin, 1990).

The second category of literature pertained to the education of indigenous peoples in the Western world with a focus on the indigenous peoples of Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. I explored the histories of schooling of these indigenous peoples from the first European contact. The absence of research on educative leadership in indigenous schools became very apparent.

The third review of literature regarded educational leadership in developing countries. It was found that the importation of Western education shared many characteristics across developing countries and indigenous peoples. There apparently was an overriding assumption that models of administration held to be appropriate for Western industrialised cultures were equally appropriate in developing and indigenous contexts. Harber (1993) revisited Riggs’ (1964) theory of prismatic society with respect to the continued and unquestioned importation of industrialised models of administration into pre-industrialised developing countries. Riggs used the metaphor of

a prism to posit a theory of administration in developing countries in which both traditional, fused structures and modern, functionally diffracted structures coexist. In developing, or transitional societies, the process in which highly specialised and functionally autonomous structures assume control over administrative affairs from fused structures (in which only a few basic institutions fulfill all the administrative functions) is incomplete. Hence, models of administration imported from developed to developing countries are often relatively cumbersome and ineffective. Harber's point in revisiting the much older work of Riggs was to use Riggs and the work of several intervening scholars to strengthen his argument against the universality of theories of Educational Administration, particularly in the developing world.

The same assumption of the universality of administrative theory was noted by Armitage (1995) in his description of the administrative convenience when developing the Canadian Department of Indian Affairs, the Native Department in New Zealand, and variations of Aboriginal Affairs Acts throughout the Australian states. Other pertinent, shared characteristics of developing countries and indigenous peoples has been in the area of curriculum development (Vulliamy, Lewin, & Stephens, 1990; Smith, 1992). Finally, in both contexts there has been little research done in the area of indigenous educational leadership (MacNeill, 1985; Hughes, 1990).

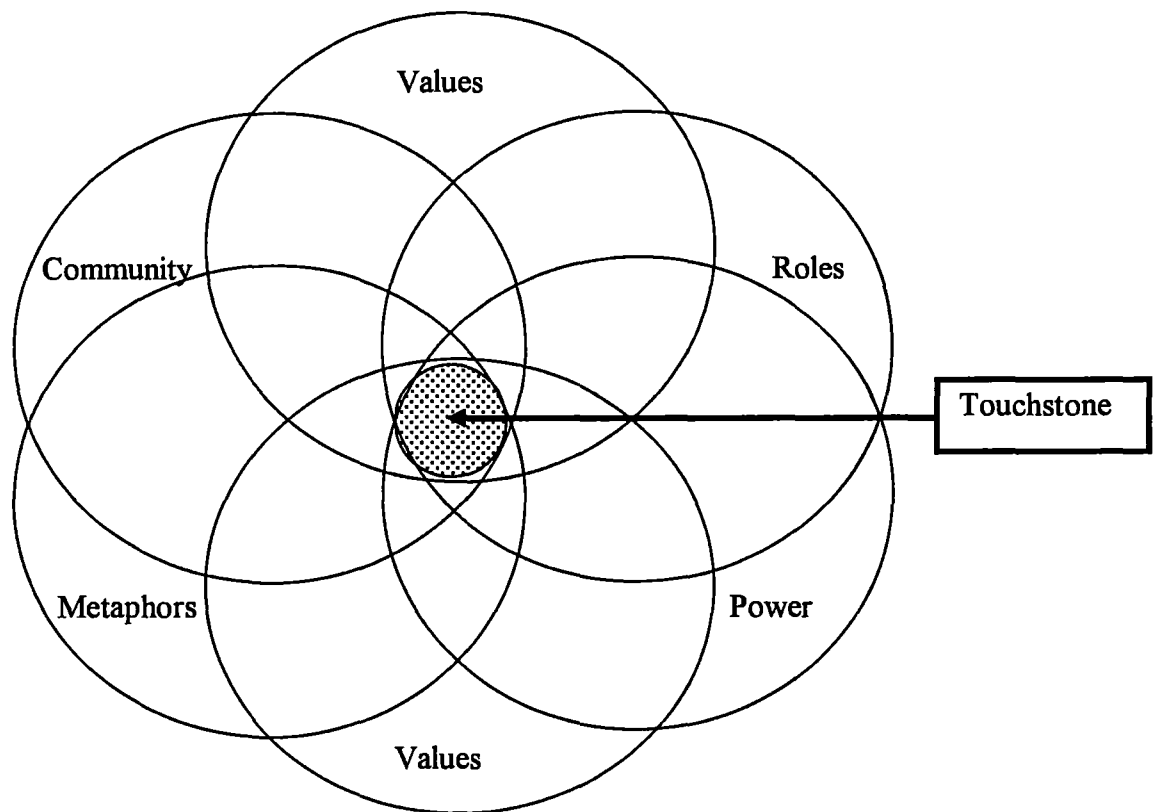
The fourth category to be reviewed was that of the histories of colonisation in Canada, Australia and New Zealand. An understanding, even at a superficial level, of indigenous education in these countries is not possible without an understanding of the respective histories of colonisation and decolonisation in each. Indeed, the process of colonisation shaped, and continues to shape, education policy and practice in these countries (Harker & McConnochie, 1985; Walker, 1990; Armitage, 1995).

The fifth category of literature that served to develop the theoretical framework for the study was within the area of organisational analysis. Here the focus was on ways of knowing and understanding organisations (Morgan, 1986) and the meanings that actors in organisations gave to their actions. Informed by various sociological and philosophical perspectives, a theoretical framework was crafted to initiate the research. The development of this framework was guided by Berger and Luckmann's (1966) argument that reality is socially constructed, Burrell and Morgan's (1979) articulation of interpretivism, and Hodgkinson's (1978, 1983, 1991, & 1996) work on administration and values. Additional input was derived from Silverman's (1983) process of action analysis and Duignan and Macpherson's (1992) research on generating a practical theory of educative leadership.

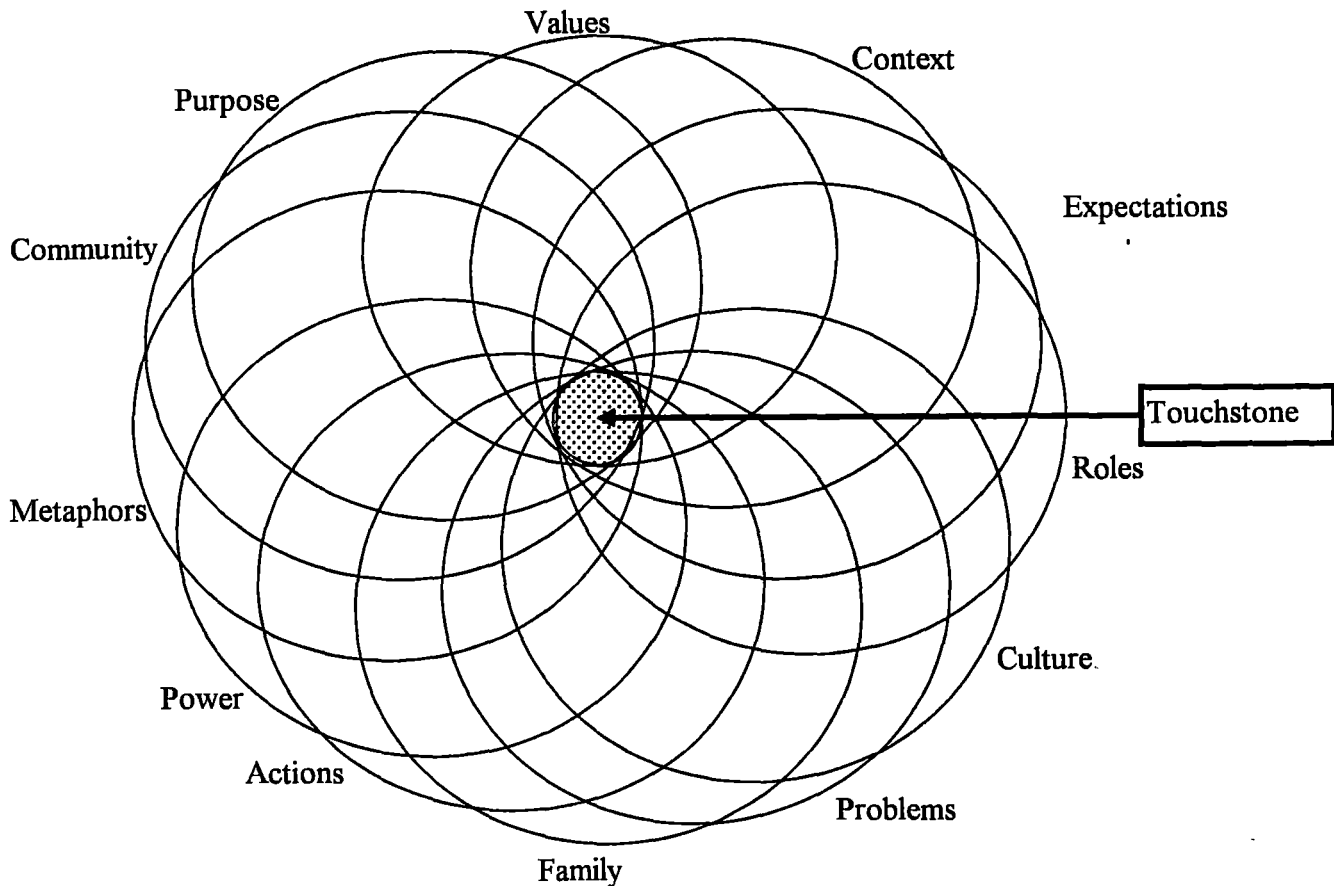
As used by Macpherson (1984) to guide his ethnographic research, the six inter-related areas of Silverman's (1983) path of action analysis were again modified for use with principals in this study.

1. The principals' view of their administrative context, in particular their perceptions of the nature of the role-system and patterns of interaction in the school community.
2. The principals' priorities of involvement and their derivations.
3. The principals' present definitions of their situation within the organisation and their expectations of the likely behaviour of others with particular reference to the strategic resources they perceive to be at their own disposal and at the disposal of others.
4. The typical actions of principals, their antecedents, and the meanings which they attach to their actions.
5. The principals' views of the implications and consequences of their actions.
6. Changes in the involvement and ends of principals and in the role-system, and their source both in the outcome of the interactions of principals and in the changing stock of knowledge inside and outside the organisation.

Subsequent to an iterative combining of information from the categories of literature reviewed and from the path of action analysis above, the following figure illustrates initial areas of analysis used to facilitate the interpretation of actions and their meanings for educative leaders in indigenous schools. The aspect of this diagram of most interest was the anticipated area of touchstone, the area of overlap across national and international sites.

**Figure 4.1 - Conceptual Framework One**

The above thematic framework was developed roughly ten months before the field research began. In keeping with a pragmatic, non-foundational epistemology that denies giving preference to any particular suite of knowledge claims, this framework was a provisional assembly. Components were added as themes emerged during the research and analysis of the data (Macpherson, 1990). Hence, the framework evolved as the study progressed and categories emerged. After conducting study visits to schools in British Columbia and New Zealand the revised framework can be illustrated by Figure 4.2.

**Figure 4.2 - Conceptual Framework Two**

To explore the realms illustrated by the framework above, various types of data were gathered from diverse sources. In the next section I discuss the types of data and their sources in this research.

## **Data Gathering**

### **Type of Data and Sources**

- Literature searches undertaken in this study included the areas of: Educational Administration; policies and structures of the education systems in each country; past and present policies and practices of indigenous education in each country; organisational analysis; theory development in qualitative research, and the histories of colonisation in each country.

- School sites were selected and visited in which each school community was extensively studied through a variety of ethnographic techniques.
- Field notes were taken extensively throughout the study period at each school.
- Interpersonal communications in which interviews were conducted with principals and other stakeholders in each school community. Telephone, faxes, air mail, and email correspondence with participating principals spanned the study from its commencement throughout the duration of the study to the final stages of data analysis.
- Background papers and school documentation were gathered at each site.
- Photographs were taken at each site to provide descriptive information of the school and its community and to act as mnemonic devices in the recall of information following the field research.

### **Background Reading and Literature Searches**

As indicated above, data gathering processes began with background reading and a search of pertinent literature. This study entailed that I had an understanding of the education systems in each national and state context. It also required a knowledge base of the parallel indigenous systems in each, including their histories from past to present. Having professional experience within the provincial education system in BC and Papua New Guinea, I had a professional knowledge and skills base of schooling, teaching, and administrative practice in a limited international context.

Being based at the University of Tasmania and teaching there in the School of Education contributed to my knowledge of Australian education systems. A survey of literature on education in New Zealand since the Picot reforms of the late 1980's was undertaken to provide a contextual understanding of present policies in New Zealand education.

Gaining an understanding of the histories of indigenous education in each national setting was both illuminating and disconcerting. It is difficult to remain impassive looking through retrospective lenses at the ethnocidal processes invoked in the education of generations of indigenous peoples in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. As reviewed in Chapter Two, the role of education in the colonial histories of each nation was strikingly similar. Relationships between indigenous peoples and colonisers in each of these Commonwealth countries were formed at a time when the Office of Colonial Affairs in London dictated colonial policy around the globe.

Subsequently, as similar political systems evolved independently in each country, the same policy periods affecting indigenous peoples were repeated also.

### **Selection of Subjects and Schools**

Simultaneous with reviewing the literature, the process of inviting principals and school communities to participate in the study began. A search was initiated for schools in each national context solely enrolling indigenous students and having preferably an indigenous educative leader. Four schools in each context were deemed an adequate number to address the purposes of this study. Given that the Canadian First Nations and Australia Aboriginal populations are predominantly rural at present and the New Zealand Maori population is largely urban (Armitage, 1995, pp. 32, 89, 154), researching rural schools in Canada and Australia and urban schools in New Zealand seemed appropriate.

The selection of schools was based on three criteria: having an indigenous student body, preferably having an indigenous principal or designated leader, and being in reasonable proximity of each other. Schools with an indigenous student body and a non-indigenous principal were also considered for two reasons. The first reason is the rarity of schools with indigenous principals. The second related to the purpose of the study and the guiding research questions. Before the study had been undertaken it could not be assumed that the nature of educative leadership in indigenous schools was contingent upon having an indigenous principal.

Given constraints of time and finances, I sought schools within one day's drive of each other. However, the rarity of schools with indigenous principals caused me to travel to the limits of my preferred distance between schools. The schools selected and eventually visited in BC and NT were approximately 1000 kilometres apart. The schools selected in New Zealand were all in the greater Auckland area.

Access protocols in each national and international setting varied. Such protocols were integral to the culture and traditions of each participating community. Gaining access as a researcher to each school community was dependent on both a sensitivity of and adherence to the established protocols of interaction and engagement. Generally speaking, this meant that a simple phone call and an immediate "okay" from an individual was inadequate. Invariably, access protocols entailed a liberal time frame for stake-holders to consider my request. Immediate permission to conduct research was granted on only one occasion. In all other instances,



communication with each site, via several mediums, over a lengthy period of time was required before access was granted.

Four study schools were sought in BC. The researcher was presently on leave from a school district in BC with 30% First Nations students. Of the Australian states, NT was selected for two main reasons. There are many similarities in geographical and climatic conditions to BC. Many communities of indigenous peoples in both NT and BC are subjected to the dual tyrannies of extreme climatic conditions and vast distances separating them from other communities and larger urban centres. The second reason for selecting NT was that state's reputation for innovative practices and models of organisation in Aboriginal schools (Harris, 1990).

### **British Columbia**

I began preparing for the week-long periods of observation and interviewing more than one year in advance. I traveled to BC to gather information, visit several First Nations schools, search the pertinent literature and meet with scholars and practitioners working in the field of First Nations education. The First Nations House of Learning and other libraries at the University of British Columbia hold extensive collections on First Nations education. The preliminary trip was also needed to negotiate access to schools.

Within the parameters described above, with one exception, the selection of participants was on a reputational basis. The search for indigenous schools and principals began by questioning district superintendents of education, practitioners in the field, and scholars working in the area. I was given the names of schools and principals who satisfied the criteria of being indigenous or being principals of indigenous schools. A letter of introduction (Appendix A, p. 255), an outline of the research study (Appendix B, p. 257), and an Information Sheet for Participants (Appendix C, p. 259) was sent to four principals in BC. Where necessary, a similar package was sent to the district superintendent in whose district the school was located. These letters and attachments were followed by a telephone call a few weeks later.

The exception to this process in BC was one school in a small community in the district from which the researcher was on leave. The principal of this school was a respected colleague of the researcher who was also willing to participate in the research. In addition to my relationship with the principal, I also had a prior relationship with the community. I had taught students from the community and interacted with their parents and families for two years. Having been a participant

observer in a situation for a lengthy period of time prior to conducting the study established the requirements of prior ethnography (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

Such prior ethnography not only helps to diminish the obtrusiveness of the investigator but also provides a baseline of cultural accommodation and informational orientation that will be invaluable in increasing both the effectiveness and efficiency of the formal work. (p. 251)

This school community was visited during my first trip to BC one year before the formal field research. In addition to Lincoln and Guba's observation above, this visit increased my theoretical sensitivity (Strauss and Corbin, 1990) and contributed to the development of interview questions.

Telephone calls confirmed that the other principals were interested in the study and willing to participate, but indicated that approval to visit the school would have to be granted by the Local Education Authority or Band Education Council (a governing body similar to a School Council). On the advice of three of the principals I drafted letters to the chairperson of each council. Each letter was accompanied by an information sheet and a brief outline of the study. In each case there was a waiting period from several weeks to several months before my request was presented and then responded to at an Education Council Meeting. One Council approved my request without hesitation. Two Councils turned down my request claiming they were "over studied" and "over visited." One of these schools was on the outskirts of the capital city, the other was 150 kilometres from the largest city in the province. Apparently, their close proximity to these population centres entailed a constant influx of visitors to the point of being disruptive to teaching and learning. Furthermore, being close to the three main universities in the province, these schools had been subjected to a great deal of "research" and there was a stated resentment by Council members toward participating in yet another research study and "getting nothing in return."

Two more schools and principals were identified, contacted, and a similar process occurred. The principals and Councils approved of the study and invited me to visit their schools.

### **Northern Territory**

Study schools in NT were identified from the literature on innovations in Aboriginal schools and from recommendations of senior staff within the Northern Territory Department of Education. The process of identifying and gaining access to schools in the NT required two information-gathering trips to Darwin prior to doing the fieldwork. The first week-long visit to Darwin occurred 15 months before field research commenced. During this initial visit I introduced myself

and presented the study to senior officials in the Department of Education, Feppi, (the Northern Territory Aboriginal Education Consultative Group), and scholars working in the area of Aboriginal education at Northern Territory University (NTU). During this fruitful visit I was provided with many opportunities to exchange ideas and gather information. I also received widespread encouragement to proceed with what was described by many as a worthwhile project. The library of NTU and pertinent documentation from the Department of Education were also made freely available. During this trip, several schools were identified as being potential study schools and access protocols were ascertained.

The first protocol was to gain written permission from the Northern Territory Department of Education to undertake research in receptive NT schools. Application was made to and permission received from the Research Office of the Curriculum and Assessment Branch of the Northern Territory Department of Education. As two of the identified schools were Catholic schools, the Catholic Education Office was notified and permission sought to conduct the research in Catholic schools. Following permission from the respective head offices, again, letters of introduction with information sheets were sent to principals of prospective study schools and a follow-up process similar to that for the BC context was carried out. Over a period of months, permission was granted to research four schools.

A second trip was made to Darwin five months before the field research to again meet with Department of Education officials, scholars at the university, and gather more literature from the university and public libraries. Both of these libraries were well stocked with current and pertinent literature. During this trip also, arrival and departure dates at study schools and accommodation arrangements were confirmed.

### **New Zealand**

Selection of schools in New Zealand was done quite differently than in the other two national contexts. With a history of being researched by outsiders and an ensuing resentment at the theft of cultural and intellectual property, there is a stated reluctance among the Maori to allow outsiders access to Maori affairs. As stated in Smith, McNaughton, and Smith (1989), "We have a history of people putting the Maori under a microscope in the same way a scientist looks at an insect. The ones doing the looking are giving themselves the power to define and describe" (p. 2). Smith et al. (1989) suggested that one consequence of this history in the past 20 years is a wariness among the Maori towards research which has become more public and in some cases more

antagonistic (p. 3). McCarthy (1994) couched the caution and contempt some Maori held toward most research in the context of Maori and Pakeha attitudes towards knowledge. For Pakeha, access to knowledge is considered a divine right. For Maori, as described in Chapter Three, knowledge is hierarchical and tapu. A researcher, particularly a non-Maori that is conducting interviews in a qualitative study, is safe to assume that conditions of tapu apply to such research. Gaining trust is an effective, if not the only, way to address such reluctance to being researched and negotiate conditions of tapu.

Aware of the need to fulfill such research protocols, one of my supervisors introduced my research study to several Maori scholars at the University of Auckland working in the area of Maori education. Fortunately, these scholars were receptive to the aims of the study and offered their support. Following an initial contribution of literature pertaining to Maori education and pedagogy, these scholars continued to offer support throughout the research and took on mentorship roles during the field research in Auckland.

Following a year of readings on the history and development of Maori education, I made one trip to New Zealand to conduct the research. Upon arrival in Auckland I was provided office space in the Department of Education and access to the computer and library resources of the University of Auckland. After several meetings with Maori scholars, in which the purpose of the study was discussed at length, I was provided a list of prospective principals, schools, scholars, and practitioners in the area of study. Included in the list were four recommended principals and schools. It was clearly stated that the four principals represented a diversity of views and practices that would present a broad range of Maori ideologies and approaches to education. Further, it was conveyed that permission to visit Maori schools rested with the principals and their communities and that permission from the Department of Education need not be sought. Telephone calls were made to each of the recommended principals and appointments to visit were scheduled.

It is important here not to gloss over the act of recommending four principals without a full appreciation of what was being done. Given the reluctance of Maori to be researched by non-Maori and the need to negotiate conditions of tapu and gain the trust of those being researched, my Maori mentor at the University Auckland served as an intermediary. The important role of an intermediary here cannot be underestimated. As stated by McCarthy (1994), "as a known intermediary, this person essentially places their mana on the line. The person being interviewed relies to some extent on the judgment of that friend as to the credibility of the researcher. The

notion of trust in this particular situation had therefore been partly developed through the known intermediary” (p. 74). Clearly, I am grateful for such support.

### **University Ethics Approval**

Prior to commencing the field research, full approval of the study was sought and obtained from the University of Tasmania Ethics Committee specifying all ethical aspects of multi-site participant observation and in-depth interviewing.

### **Role of Electronic Media in the Study**

Conducting a study such as this from Tasmania, thousands of kilometres from any of the study sites, entailed logistical challenges. However, from its inception, electronic media such as Internet and email facilitated quick, easy, and inexpensive communication between Tasmania and several contacts in each national context. Comprehensive, interactive Web Sites in each nation, state, and province were also used extensively. Queries to Web Sites were consistently and promptly responded to, usually within 24 hours, by knowledgeable Web Site staff. University librarians were everywhere helpful and generous with all archival and electronic resources available to them.

## **Field Research**

### **Development of Contact Summary Sheets**

Following the recommendations of Miles and Huberman (1984), contact summary sheets were developed and maintained for each prospective site throughout the study. These sheets contained dates and types of contact with the site, people involved, main themes of the contact, notes of interests, questions for further inquiry, and points to pursue in the next contact. Given the organisational and logistical complexity of such a study, contact summary sheets proved to be invaluable devices for minimising confusion and maximising information gathering in the preliminary stages of the study.

### **Logistics of Site Visits**

Time of school year, location of school, school events, community ceremonies, transportation, and accommodation during the research all had to be taken into account. These logistical details required careful planning and communication. Consideration also had to be given to differing school calendars and seasonal weather. Given the vast distances between schools in most

contexts, time had to be added on to either end of the field research for gathering supplies, consulting with contacts and officials, and debriefing in each national context when the fieldwork there was complete. One week of meeting with scholars and contacts, revisiting the literature, and making last minute site-visit arrangements was spent in each national context before the first site was visited.

### **School Visits**

One week in each school community was determined adequate to provide a preliminary understanding of educative leadership in each school. This time period was chosen after reviewing the amount of time other doctoral researchers spent in schools conducting similar research (D. S. T. Cascadden, personal communication, May 25, 1996) and times allocated to formal school evaluations such as Ofsted inspections in the United Kingdom and Accreditations in BC. With both Ofsteds and Accreditations an external team of three to seven members, depending on the size of school, spends three to five days in a school community. This team examines and evaluates all aspects of the school environment including teaching, learning, curriculum implementation, administration, budget considerations, staffing, interpersonal relations, community relations, and communication between all members of the school community. I reasoned that if all aspects of a school could be sufficiently evaluated in three to five days, then one aspect, educative leadership could be adequately understood for the purposes of this study in a similar time frame. Weekends were spent driving, flying, or boating from one school community to the next. It must be stressed that the week in each school was to collect perspectives from participants with which a preliminary account of educative leadership would be prepared, and through a follow-up interactive process, negotiated.

### **Reflection and Recovery Time**

Following the period of field research in each national context three weeks were allocated back in Tasmania to transcribe tapes, compile notes, reflect on experiences, and prepare for the next trip into the field. It was soon realised that three weeks was not nearly enough. However, given the detailed planning such field research entailed, it was not possible to reschedule site visits. Consequently, I found myself barely emerging from one cultural context before I was plunging into another.

## **Entry, Day One**

Entry into an indigenous school community is a justifiably anxiety laden experience, even more so when a great deal of time and resources have been expended planning and arriving at the site. Perhaps because a smooth entry is so important, and because the entry process is relived every day as access is continually renegotiated, there is a substantial body of literature dedicated to advising researchers how best to enter the field (Dobbert, 1982). Schatzman and Strauss (1973) explained why “entering relatively complex human organisations is a process in which he [the researcher] will be engaged long after ‘permission’ to enter has been granted” (p. 23).

Considering that people’s privacies are to be “invaded”, that commitments to their work and even their very identity are likely to be called into question, it does not take much imagination to realize how tactical error, blunder, or social crudity can complicate an otherwise worthy project - not to mention the cost to the researcher of having to find a new site or to abandon a study altogether. In a mutually voluntary and negotiated entrée, the host holds options not only to prevent entrée but to terminate relations with the researcher at almost any stage thereafter. (Schatzman & Strauss, 1973, p. 22)

Following others’ advice, and from my own previous, successful experiences conducting fieldwork (Wicks, 1991), on the first day at each site I observed and got a feel for the place. In BC schools I offered my services to relief or substitute teach to cover for any absent teachers. On two occasions my offers were accepted. These experiences smoothed my entry into each school, shortened the perceived gap between myself and other teachers, and gave me an immediate, unmitigated orientation to the structure and culture of these schools. Generally, the first day at each school was spent extending myself to others in order to gain their acquaintance and trust. Much of this day was spent explaining myself fully to each principal. I also arranged to have her or him introduce me to staff. I did not interview any principal on the first day.

During the introductory visit with the principal, if time permitted, I asked a few of Spradley’s (1979) grand tour, general, open-ended questions which literally asked for a tour. Responses to the question “could you show me around the school?” frequently generated more focused description-oriented questions or mini-tour questions such as “in what other areas do elders work in the school?”

This process helped achieve social, spatial, and temporal “mapping” (Schatzman & Strauss, 1973) in which I gained “a working conception of the relevant dimensions of the site, including its outer boundaries and inner locales; also, the classes of things, persons, and events which inhabit these locales” (p. 34). Organisation charts, bell schedules, timetables, duty rosters, attendance

records, meeting schedules, professional development workshops, classroom and staffroom layouts, arrival and departure times of students and staff, all contributed to providing various maps of each school. Hence, on the first day at each school I acquainted myself with the physical plant and organisation of the school and how its social systems related to its community.

### **Accommodation**

Every effort was made to stay on or as close to the site of each school as possible. Accommodation arrangements were discussed in various communications with principals before arrival. On two occasions in BC I stayed with the principal near the school. Referred to by Gronn (1982) as ethnographic Boswelling, “literally living with principals to ascertain the minute-by-minute meanings of self, action, and context” (Macpherson, 1984, p. 71), this allowed for candid periods of time before and after the school day to discuss anticipated events, possible outcomes, and consequences. On other occasions I found accommodation at motels, hotels, and residences of acquaintances. Each of these, though not always in close proximity to the school, presented opportunities for community members to offer their perceptions of the school and its leadership.

### **Days Two, Three, and Four**

These days were spent visiting classrooms, the playground, staff room, wandering about the school, taking photographs, and copious field notes. While engaged in these activities I tried to be an inconspicuous observer. To some degree I was successful at this, as revealed by a closing comment from one of the principals in the study.

The way you handled yourself and [were] respectful with us here has been sensational on its own. People have really said it. You’ve fitted in so beautifully that sometimes we just passed you by and forgot that you were a visitor. . . . We get some white people in here who’d be washing their hands before they do anything. It’s the little things. (Principal, NT Site Two)

I also arranged to conduct two or three interviews with the principal. During these days informal and sometimes formal interviews were conducted with other stakeholders in the school community to provide a level of triangulation (Denzin 1989) with the principal’s perceptions. Throughout this period I participated as much as possible in the daily routine of the school to remain as inconspicuous as possible.

There were two rituals each day which spoke volumes about the culture and context of the school; before classes began and when classes finished for the day. For this reason I was usually



one of the first to arrive at the school each morning and observe the arrival of students and staff. I watched the manner in which members of the school community approached the school and the roles they assumed upon arrival. I also noted which staff members visited with children in the playground, visited with each other in the staffroom, went straight to their classrooms, made morning announcements, attended and lead meetings, and so on. These details served to fill in a picture of the school and the nature of leadership within that picture. More specific details of the latter, as perceived by those in leadership positions, were drawn out of interviews conducted with them.

### **Confidentiality and Anonymity**

All interviews were conducted under conditions of fully informed written consent. Each participant had received and read the information sheet and signed a form consenting to be interviewed for the purposes as described in the outline of the study (Appendix B, p. 257). Participants were also advised that research findings would be shared with them both during and at the completion of the study. Anonymity of participation was assured. It was explained that the names of participants, schools, place name locations of schools, and cultural and linguistic identifiers would not be used in any publications resulting from the research. Schools were referred to as “sites” and “principal and site referent number” were attributed to all participants quoted in this study. It was also made clear to participants that providing information of any sort or participating in interviews was entirely voluntary and could be terminated by them at any time during the research without prejudice.

### **Interview Schedules**

A wide range of information, generally forming three categories of data, was required from the interviews with principals. Two interview schedules were designed to accommodate the three categories of data. A category of data was required to provide an objective profile of the school, including grades catered for, number of students and staff, cultural affiliation of students and staff, operational structure, and location. Another category provided an equivalent profile of the principal or designated leader. This category included the principal’s cultural affiliation, gender, age, experience, years at the school, and formal qualifications. These two categories of data were accommodated by Interview Schedule One (Appendix D, p. 262). Another interview schedule was developed to illuminate the broad category of meanings and perceptions subsumed within the

domains of purpose, values, context, expectations, roles, power, problems, family, actions, culture, metaphors, and community (Interview Schedule Two, Appendix E, p. 263).

### **Conducting Interviews**

The framework of Seidman's (1991) three-interview series (focused life history, details of experience, and reflection on meaning) was adopted and modified within a semi-structured interview format to collect similar data from all participants. Interviews typically lasted approximately 90 minutes. With one exception, all formal interviews with principals were tape recorded. One principal asked that the first interview not be recorded but agreed to the recording of subsequent interviews.

The theoretical framework provided the basis for topical areas to be addressed in the interviews. However, it should be noted that in a qualitative study of this nature entailing continuous observation for a week's duration in each site, the researcher who remains in the field strictly adhering to a pre-established set of questions may miss vital information. As Bogdan and Bilken (1982) argued, "finding the questions should be one of the products of data collection rather than assumed a priori. The study itself structures the research, not preconceived ideas or any precise research design" (p. 55). This is also a tenant of grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), an approach which influenced the collection and analysis of data in this study.

During the second interview with the first principal to participate in the study I found a need to reconceptualise the thematic framework illustrated by Figure 4.1 (p. 92) presented earlier in this chapter and modify interview questions. This was predicted by Bogdan and Taylor (1975) when they stated, "During the first days in the field, the observer may find that his or her ideas and areas of interest do not fit the setting. His or her questions may not be relevant to the concerns and behavior of the subjects" (p. 27). After visiting four sites, Interview Schedule Two had been modified four times. The final modifications improved clarity of meaning and reduced 'academic' language in favour of more vernacular forms. Thus, the apparent source of bias suggested by the initial thematic framework and its earlier modifications was reduced and controlled by feedback and the process of schedule refinement.

### **Departure, Day Five**

Departure from the field, though it does not receive as much attention as entry in the literature, (Shaffir & Stebbins, 1991) was, when possible, orchestrated just as carefully. I tried to link my

departure with a ceremony in the school community to increase the sense of closure of the fieldwork and to heighten participants' associations of me with a memorable event to facilitate closer communication in the future. This was part of a deliberate attempt to facilitate "keeping in touch" (Shaffir & Stebbins) following the completion of the fieldwork during the lengthy process of clarifying and negotiating meanings of transcribed interviews. Again, in order to tie departure in with a ceremony or an event, timing of the site visit had to be planned months in advance. For instance, more than a year before conducting the fieldwork in BC I was informed of a totem pole raising ceremony, the first in 100 years on the northwest coast of BC, which was of particular significance to the members of one of the school communities I was going to visit. The very fact of being told of the totem pole ceremony a year in advance underlined its importance to the community. Therefore, I planned the timing of my departure immediately following the ceremony as the crowd dispersed.

### **Addendum to the Field Research**

Between the period of planning and conducting the field research, changes occurred in the field which caused deviations from the initial plan. In BC, one of the principals willing to participate in the study, and who had been communicating with the researcher for more than one year, went on educational leave four months before the scheduled site visit. Having already received permission from the Council to visit the school, and encouraged by the outgoing principal, I contacted the incoming principal and he agreed to participate in the study in spite of his short time in the school. I also interviewed the former principal during his study leave. In total, five principals were interviewed in BC.

In NT four principals agreed to participate in the study. Travel arrangements and accommodation were organised at each site. However, one week before I was to travel to one of the study schools, the principal went on unexpected leave. Hence, neither she nor the school were included in the study. With such short notice it was not possible to organise a replacement. Consequently, only three schools in NT were included in the study.

Similarly, in New Zealand, one of the principals who agreed to participate in the study fell ill the day I had arranged to meet with him. He did not fully recover during the fieldwork period in New Zealand and a replacement was not found. As a result, only three principals in New Zealand participated in the study. One of these three was interviewed extensively off campus at his request.

Additionally, conducting the field research in urban New Zealand was distinctly different than doing so in rural BC and NT. Two of the study schools were in South Auckland and one was near the center of the city. I used the same accommodation, some distance from each site, throughout the field research period in New Zealand. Hence, I was more removed from these New Zealand school communities than in BC or NT. Furthermore, the school communities themselves were integrated with greater Auckland. That is, they were not contained within a geographical or cultural milieu with a distinct identity as were the schools in BC and NT.

In sum, a total of 13 participants: 10 principals, one director, one group-principal, and one vice-principal were formally interviewed, with Interview Schedules One and Two, during this research.

### **Treatment of Data**

As previously mentioned, all interviews except the first interview with one principal in New Zealand were tape recorded with the full knowledge of the interviewees. All interviews were transcribed by the researcher. Transcribed interviews were then sent back to interviewees for their validation (Silverman 1993). An accompanying letter invited participants to make any changes, additions, or deletions to the transcripts they wished.

### **Coding and Analysis**

The data were coded and analysed to identify emergent theory as recommended by Miles and Huberman (1984), Strauss and Corbin (1990), and Eisenhardt (1989). NUDIST, a software program for analysing qualitative data, was also used to help identify emergent constructs and categories. In the later, interactive phases with participants, the categories and concepts were organised manually on large display charts. These charts were then organised to allow cross-site comparisons and to trace cultural commonalities and differences.

### **Limitations, Reflections, and Summary**

#### **Limitations**

Recognising bias and possible limitations, and taking measures to reduce them were a part of this study from the outset. Researcher bias began with selection of topic and permeated the study. Steps were taken, however, to reduce bias throughout the research. Site selection, for example,

only included one setting in which I had a superficial familiarity and at which I was only known by a few people. The other nine sites were completely foreign to me and I was unknown by anyone at each of them. Although selecting sites of which I had no prior knowledge made issues of negotiating access more difficult, it complied with the recommendations to reduce bias made by Bogdan and Taylor (1975). Choosing settings in which the subjects are strangers lessens the likelihood of seeing things from a favoured perspective and eliminates the possibility of assuming an 'expert' role and thereby being judgmental (p. 28).

Clearly, in a cross-cultural study such as this, limitations with respect to the interpretations of meanings from observations and interviews are unavoidable. Certainly, in contexts and cultures in which the researcher is not a member, limitations to interpretations must be acknowledged from the outset, and efforts made to reduce them. First, as I was the researcher, according to Baker (1992), I was also the major limitation to the study. To minimise this limitation I followed her advice and questioned constantly:

- the effects of the researcher on the nature of the data - bias, prejudices, filters, openness, unconscious selective perception of the facts, consistency of observation;
- the quality of researcher performance;
- the quality of inferences and interpretations;
- the interaction of personal involvement and a measure of detachment;
- researcher fatigue;
- researcher reliability; and
- distortion by respondents. (Baker, 1992, p. 171)

Another limitation intrinsic to a study such as this with a heavy dependence on interviews, stemmed from the interviews themselves in two ways. One was the issue of the interviewees being truthful and committed to the process, and the other the question of the interviewees' ability to fully articulate responses to complex interview questions (Schatzman & Strauss, 1973). In this study I have more concerns about the limitations engendered by issues of articulation than commitment and truthfulness. The high level of commitment of the participants in this study was evidenced by their willingness to allow me open access to their school communities for an extended period of time. I was at each school site, often living there, for a week at a time. Risking disruption of busy schedules and intrusive questions over a prolonged period is a reasonably sound measure of commitment.

Issues of articulation with respect to participants' ability to explain, and my ability to understand their experiences and understandings presented a broader range of limitations. First,

with respect to interviewee responses to questions, Polanyi's (1967) remark about human knowledge that "we can know more than we can tell" (p. 4.), is worth bearing in mind. In this study Polanyi's insight was compounded by linguistic variables at several levels. English was not the first language of approximately half of the principals in this study. Hence, there may have been instances of misunderstanding or lack of clarity as a consequence.

Furthermore, there are variations in language usage across international and practical/academic contexts which contribute to obfuscate communication. Consider, for example, international connotations of the term 'administration'. In Canada administration implies a level of senior management that is more concerned 'with doing the right things than with doing things right'. Administrators hire managers to do things right. In the organisational hierarchy, management is below administration. Principals are referred to as school-based administrators. In Australia and New Zealand, however, many schools hire administrators to tend to administrative details that are subsumed under the responsibilities of head secretaries in Canada. Some Australian and New Zealand principals regard themselves as 'managers' and hire administrators. Consequently, Canadian, Australian, and New Zealand principals may be saying very different things when they say they spend more time on administration than management.

Similarly, there are differences in language usage between academics and practitioners. For example, there may be a considerable literature on the differences between power and authority. A researcher, like myself, may be familiar with such differences. However, for many practitioners, without a background or an interest in organisation theory, authority and power may be used interchangeably. Finally, although much is written about reflective practice and the principalship (Sergiovanni, 1991), the job is usually too consuming to afford a great deal of reflection. Moreover, even when principals have reflective opportunities, the cultural norms, values, and underlying assumptions that guide their practices are often held unconsciously or not questioned. Thus, the interviewees themselves presented possible limitations.

Therefore, the first strategy I employed for minimising these limitations was to be aware of them throughout the field research. Aside from being constantly alert to language usage, intended meanings, and possible interpretations, I continually verified my interpretations throughout each interview. Also, typed interview transcripts were returned to participants for verification.

Furthermore, although I relied largely on principals' perceptions, a degree of triangulation was gained through interviewing other stakeholders within the school community and observers of the school community. As well, up to a week of participant and non-participant observation,

extensive note-taking, and taking photographs substantiated principals' perceptions and further enhanced triangulation. These measures, in conjunction with rigorously attending to recognised methods and procedures for gathering and analysing data in qualitative research, substantially increased the degree to which the findings of this study can be provisionally accepted.

### **On Interviewing**

I came to the view that interviewing is a two-way learning process. Both interviewer and interviewee should learn something of themselves and the subject of discussion by participation. It was my role to be the main learner. However, there were instances in which, because of my experience in a variety of cultural settings and my distance from the "forest", I was able to point out the "trees" to the interviewees. Often it was a case of the participant not being consciously aware of the underlying assumptions constantly operating beneath the surface of actions. Such assumptions were, at times, conspicuously evident to me, the naive, outside observer.

Of 13 formal interviewees only four were with non-indigenous people. The rest were with people belonging to oral cultures in which oratory skills were a prerequisite to leadership in any arena. Listening to the eloquence, poetry, and power with which some of these people spoke often made me feel my tongue was made of wood.

### **Summary**

This chapter began with a description of the study, its rationale, and the research questions. The approach taken and the theoretical framework that guided the research were then presented with justifications. The processes of data collection, site selection, field research, and data analysis were also explained. In addition, a discussion was included of the possible limitations and the measures taken to reduce them. The chapter concluded with some brief reflections on interviewing.

In the following chapter the results of the field research will be presented. Each school community and principal will be introduced and briefly described. In conjunction are offered principals' responses to the interview schedules and their opinions and perspectives concerning their schools and the nature of educative leadership within them.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **FIELD RESEARCH RESULTS AND PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS**

Interview question: “How would you describe this school?”

Response: “This school is a unified place. It’s a place where two cultures meet. And it’s a place of frustration, yet filled with joy. Every day there’s something frustrating. But it’s a place of people. It’s alive.”

Principal, Site Two, Australia

Response: “Fun and culture.”

First Nations Teacher, Site One, Canada

### **Introduction**

This chapter presents an overview of the findings gathered during the field research for this study in which approximately one week was spent observing and interviewing in each school community. It begins by further developing the context of the study schools with empirical profiles of the schools (Table 5.1, p. 112) and their principals (Table 5.2, p. 113). Subsequent to these largely factual profiles is a brief presentation of principals’ descriptions of their schools (Table 5.3, p. 114). The remainder of the chapter is devoted to cameos of each school with a heavy emphasis on principals’ perceptions of their schools and of the nature of leadership within them. Principals of each school are quoted frequently.

In the next chapter, using seemingly objective language, I shall be discussing the deeper significance of the descriptions and quotations that are presented here. The deeper constructs and patterns beneath these utterances, actions, and ceremonies will be analysed and the work done by these processes will be unmasked.

Descriptions of each school, including grades and numbers of students catered for, governance structures, and teaching staff composition are presented in Table 5.1 below.



**Table 5.1 - School Profiles**

School	School Type	Operational Control	Size (student numbers)	Student Composition	Total Teaching Staff	Indigenous Teaching Staff
BC 1	K- 12	School District	62	First Nations	5.66	2 Teachers
BC 2	K-9	School District	122	First Nations	7	5 Teaching Assistants
BC 3	K-12	Band Council	230	First Nations	17	7 Teachers 3 Teaching Assistants
BC 4	K-12	Independent School	244	First Nations	16	4 Teachers 3 Teaching Assistants
NZ 1	Primary	State	265	Maori and Pacific Island	14	9 Maori Teachers
NZ 2	Secondary	Anglican Church	170	Maori	10 FTE 6 Part time	6 Full-time Maori Teachers 6 Part time
NZ 3	College (senior secondary)	State	450	Maori and Pacific Island	38	8 Maori Teachers 6 Pacific Island
NT 1	Elementary (ungraded)	Independent School	160	Aboriginal (4 language groups)	11	6 Teachers 6 Teaching Assistants
NT 2	Elementary	Catholic Church	235	Aboriginal	15	6 Teachers
NT 3	Elementary (ungraded)	Catholic Church	100	Aboriginal (4 language groups)	10	7 Teachers

Each principal's cultural affiliation, gender, age, teaching, and administrative experience, time at the school, and professional qualifications are presented below in Table 5.2.

**Table 5.2 - Principal Profiles**

School	Cultural Affiliation	Gender	Age (years)	Experience (years)	Years at School	Formal Qualifications
BC 1	First Nations	M	55	30 29 as principal	29	B.A. Teaching certification
BC 2	Non-indigenous	M	60	36 33 as principal	3	B.A. Teaching certification
BC 3a	Non-indigenous	M	58	14 4 months as principal	4 months	B.A. Teaching certification
BC 3b	First Nations	M	46	23 14 as principal	4	B.A. Teaching certification
BC 4	First Nations	M	36	9 2 as principal	9	B.A. Teaching certification
NZ 1	Maori	F	60	44 5 as principal	25	Diploma in Teaching
NZ 2	Maori	F	55	37 15 as principal	7	B.A. Diploma in Teaching
NZ 3	Maori	M	50	28 13 as principal	10	B.A. Diploma in Teaching
NT 1	Aboriginal	F	55	13 3 as principal	3	Grade 7
NT 2	Non-indigenous	F	65	44 44 as principal	44	B.A. Teaching certification Grad. Dip. Religious Ed.
NT 2b	Aboriginal (Group model)	F x 5	30-45	70+	70+	Several B.A.'s All certified Teachers
NT 3	Aboriginal	F	45	22 4 as principal	20	B.A. Teaching certification

### **The Schools Described**

A characteristic of this study, common to interpretive and qualitative research, is the generation of hypotheses from the perspectives of those being studied (Burrell & Morgan, 1979; Vulliamy, Lewin, & Stephens, 1990). This requires that respondents present their own descriptions and their own meanings for their actions. Hence, supplementary to the profiles of each school and principal presented above, this presentation of results continues with principals' descriptions of their schools

in Table 5.3. Following this, each study school is visited, described, and excerpts of the principal's perceptions presented.

**Table 5.3 - Principals' Descriptions of Their Schools**

<b>British Columbia</b>	<b>New Zealand</b>	<b>Australia</b>
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. "A happy place."</li> <li>2. "Challenging and rewarding."</li> <li>3. "Unique. They do have their culture here."</li> <li>4. "The school was beautiful, the kids were beautiful. There's a real pride in the community of the school."</li> <li>5. "Unique."</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. "The overall umbrella for this school is what is termed in Maori 'whanaunatanga,' family relationships, one with another, child, elder, children, teachers and the community out there." "This is a unique school."</li> <li>2. "This is a school for the Maori female learner."</li> <li>3. "A multi-ethnic school. Exciting children, they are very friendly, they are very open, they carry with them the values of extended families."</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. "A safe and happy learning place for Aboriginal children."</li> <li>2. "A unified place. A place where two cultures meet. A safe place for the kids. A place of security."</li> <li>3. "An Aboriginal school."</li> <li>4. "An Aboriginal school."</li> </ol>

### **British Columbia Schools**

The study schools in BC were all in rural or isolated locations. They were all situated in First Nations communities and had solely enrolled First Nations students.

#### **British Columbia Site One**

Accessible only by seaplane, helicopter, or boat, the community of BC Site One is classified by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND) (1987) as a special access community. An 1800 kilometre drive north of Vancouver that traverses the interior plateau in the center of the province and veers west through the towering coastal mountains brought me to a port town from which I flew to Site One. This town services the northwest coast and adjacent islands along the BC and Alaskan coast. The first attempt at flying into Site One was aborted by blustering, cold head winds and heavy, swirling snow that compromised both visibility and airspeed. A brief break in the unstable early April weather the following day allowed safe passage through a long channel between high mountains. At the end of the channel, nestled at the head of a sheltered bay, couched in a blanket of snow and fog, was Site One.

Established at its present location in the late 1800's, the village encompassing Site One consisted of between 80 and 90 houses situated along an interconnecting boardwalk above the muskeg. Composed of thick, spongy moss above an unstable mixture of water and partly dead vegetation, the muskeg was between four and eight feet thick. Without the raised boardwalk, connecting every house and most buildings in the village, moving from one to the other would be difficult. The Band Office, school gymnasium, and school were the largest buildings in the village. Centrally situated, the eighteen-year-old school was the largest of the three. The school was operated under the auspices of the local School District. The district office was in the port town.

My first impression of the school was overwhelmingly that of a familial organisation with a vital First Nations culture. Visible representations of the local culture were abundant. Pictures of elders, clan representations, carvings, and phrases in the local language adorned the walls. A respected elder and hereditary chief of one of the more powerful clans, the principal of the school had occupied the position for 29 years. He learned to speak English as a second language. During our first, introductory meeting held in his office, we were interrupted several times by primary students eager to show him some of their schoolwork. Several spoke and wrote in a combination of English and the local language. The final interruption of our first meeting occurred when a large wolf appeared in the school yard.

The wolf was not the only conspicuous visitor from the wild kingdom. My visit had also corresponded with the annual run of oolichans, or, candlefish; small, oily fish belonging to the smelt family. Traditionally a valuable food source and important trade commodity with inland groups, oolichans are rendered into oil and smoked. Each family owns a smokehouse approximately three metres square that was, at the time, full of row upon row of symmetrically arranged oolichans. The strong scent of smoking fish permeated the village throughout my visit. Thin wisps of pungent smoke continually rose from numerous smokehouses along the boardwalk.

Some years previous, the school had adopted a Whole Language approach to the delivery of Language Arts. Until the arrival of the wolf, pictures and stories of oolichans describing in various detail how they are caught and prepared, were in every classroom and corridor. The day after the wolf appeared pictures and stories of wolves were all about the school.

When I asked the principal what some of the expectations of an educative leader in this school were, he replied:

I guess to make sure that the children receive the same education as the other students in city schools. Which is kind of difficult because when you move out of the Lower

Mainland, things change. And being a First Nations school and isolated it compounds a lot of the problems. There are some courses in the past, it's changed now; courses that we'd like to offer but we have no way of doing it. A good example for a rural community, because we're rural we can't charter a plane for a couple thousand dollars to hire a plumber to come down and do some work. You have to do it yourself. It makes sense that we have to have an IA [Industrial Arts] shop or a HE [Home Economics] station or something, but because of our numbers it's impossible. (Principal, BC Site One)

Although the rural remoteness of Site One made the logistics of administering more difficult, it also contributed to the vitality of the local culture. "We're isolated enough that a lot of the old ways stayed" (Principal, BC Site One). Consequently, of the influences from outside the school that are felt inside the school, "culture will be the main one" (Principal, BC Site One). The continued adherence to traditional social structures was evidence of the value community members placed on local culture. Decision-making processes, even within the school, provided illuminating insights into the impact of local culture into school affairs. Many decisions made in the school entailed that all members of the external community expressed a voice in the decision-making process. Consensual decision making was the traditional practice. Voting was not considered an option. Everyone in the community, young and old, had a voice. Those who chose not to speak were considered, by not objecting, to consent with the direction the decision was going.

The principal listed paying special attention to culture, caring, liking kids, and flexibility among the desired attributes of a principal for the school. He promoted the local culture in the school by teaching culture classes in the school. He also helped the Education Council organise various traditional fishing and gathering activities during breaks throughout the school year. One of these, mandated by the Education Council, involved taking all the staff and students to the seaweed picking and halibut fishing camp for a full week during the May break. "It's like going back [to traditional times]. They harvest halibut and dry it and seaweed when the weather is good and there are other seafoods they collect" (Principal, BC Site One).

The principal felt that understanding their culture was, for the students, an integral part of understanding themselves.

Well, I think that you have to understand yourself. You have to understand your culture because of the things out there, the stereotyping, and that type of thing. You have to say that we had a very rich, strong culture before contact. We had our religion, we had our social system and we were surviving rather well. And with contact there was rapid change. We are talking just a little over a hundred years ago in this area. And like with alcohol you lose all inhibitions and wander the streets and you're addicted, and people see and say, oh yeah, they're all like that. And the stuff

that we encountered when I went to high school it hasn't gone away. . . . Present day kids going to high school still experience racism. So, if we understand our people, we have something. And we are a proud people. We have something to offer to this country and to the school. And if you feel confident about yourself, beyond low self-esteem, there's no stopping you. (Principal, BC Site One)

Aside from teacher training, as a hereditary chief, his preparation for the principalship began as a child.

I was trained in our own culture because I was trained to be a leader and I guess just doing things what's expected of me. Kind of make a promise, although you don't, but showing the people in my culture that when we go, we've got the ability to carry on at the top. Of course then there's the other world I've experienced and there are some things to survive it's your responsibility to pretty well adhere to. (Principal, BC Site One)

Knowing important stories, names, and relationships were part of his leadership training when he was growing up.

First of all, you have to know the stories and you have to know who's who. Not only in this community but in other communities as well. You have to know the names of the people. You don't want to bring shame on the community or your teachers. Just to be given examples of leaders. I gave the example of the [First Nations] leader yesterday and I've experienced our leaders here. I guess rather than reading we would be told. When you read, it's one person putting thoughts down and their impressions whereas when you hear it, you don't only hear it from one person, you hear it from many, from aunts and uncles. (Principal, BC Site One)

My departure from Site One was planned to coincide with a traditional totem pole raising ceremony held at the port town from which I flew. Ceremonies were an important element of the local culture and it appeared that any opportunity for a ceremony was taken advantage of at the school. Linking my departure with a large and culturally significant event lent a ceremonious quality to my farewell to the community. I hoped that attaching my departure to a ceremony would help community members remember my visit and maintain communication between us. I anticipated future dialogue with the principal and other members of Site One during the analysis phase of the research when it may be required to seek feedback from informants to further explain events and verify conclusions (Huberman & Miles, 1994).

On my return flight I accompanied the principal and numerous members of the community to the site of the totem pole raising. Carved by an artist from the community of Site One, the pole represented the four clans and three major matriarchs of the allied tribes of the indigenous nation. Performed in the traditional manner, carried by many men, sung and danced to by as many women, and sanctified by a shaman, it was the first totem pole erected on the north central coast in more

than 100 years. Raised by hand at the site of a large high school, the purpose of the pole's placement was to promote pride in the cultural heritage of First Nations students, enhance their self-esteem, and provide learning opportunities for non-First Nations people.

### **British Columbia Site Two**

BC Site Two, also a School District operated school, is situated at the edge of a reserve community just over 100 kilometres north of the centre of the province. A fairly new rural school of 122 students, Site Two has year-round access via 50 kilometres of gravel road south to a small town and service centre. April is not a pretty month in this part of the world. The deep snows of winter, just beginning to melt, had turned walkways and driveways into channels of mud. A sign on the front entrance requested that boots and shoes, unprotected from the mud by anything like the raised boardwalk of Site One, be removed at the door. Once inside, after taking off my shoes, I spent a few minutes admiring the carvings, pictures of elders, and student work adorning the walls. Two conspicuous signs welcomed visitors, one in English and the other in the local language. Classes were in session. The halls were quiet as I made my way to the office.

A veteran teacher, with more than 33 years experience as a principal, the non-indigenous principal had been at the school for three years. Perhaps because this was his first principalship of a school solely enrolling indigenous students, given his many years of experience at other schools, he was aware of and articulate about the differences between them. The first difference between indigenous and non-indigenous schools he commented on was in their purposes.

In our regular school system the purpose of the school in its broadest sense is to perpetuate the culture, and that, in its broadest sense, is what schools do. In this case, if that's to be the purpose of the school, you have two cultures to perpetuate.  
(Principal, BC Site Two)

Given the many changes the local culture has undergone in the last 200 years, this principal spoke of the challenge involved in perpetuating a culture that was unclear in many aspects. He questioned whether or not many of the things the elders spoke of as being culturally handed down were actually just from 50 or 60 years ago. Furthermore, he asked that if perpetuating the culture is one of the main purposes of school, which aspects of even the white man's culture were appropriate for this school? "And with what rigidity" (Principal, Site Two)? In the next chapter I will revisit this principal's view of a culture that was unclear and rephrase it in terms of cultural evolution and cultural negotiation (Stairs, 1994).

Another notable difference the principal commented on between this school and the non-indigenous schools he had worked in previously, related to the principal's role. In schools such as Site Two, he felt that his responsibilities extended well beyond those associated with students and their intellectual, social and emotional development, and beyond encouraging and training teachers who were typically young and inexperienced. It also included educating the parents and members of the Education Council, training the maintenance people to do their jobs, supporting community ventures, and liaising with private industry. Essentially, he felt his role encompassed "moving the whole community along" (Principal, BC Site Two) in terms of its educational, social, and economic development.

Well, I think educating the parents to the importance of school in their lives is a big one, in the lives of their children and the role that parents can play in the school, in volunteering to come into the school, in turning up for parent interviews, and in being supportive to attendance of the kids and all that kind of thing. . . . Working with the TA's [teaching assistants], all native TA's, in trying to give them the rudiments of work habits and things of that nature, because many of them had never had a job experience before this. . . . I have a role in helping the maintenance men do their job because they again are untrained, inexperienced would be better, because they've taken numbers of workshops. But they're inexperienced in dealing with a building like this and so they often don't know how to fix particular things and because I've been in schools for so long I often do. So I show them how to go about fixing something. . . . Another role has been working with the Education Society, which is an elected group from the Band and they're learning to function like a school board would. . . . Providing support in different community ventures like potlatches and things of that nature, making sure that there's a custodian available to deal with that. . . . Another role has been to encourage the development of a culture program. That hasn't been difficult. But it's an important aspect to the job. (Principal, BC Site Two)

Overall, he felt that his main leadership role was "establishing direction" (Principal, BC Site Two).

The roles that this principal assumed stemmed largely from the expectations imposed upon him. He described at length the expectations imposed on him by parents, community, district office, and the provincial Ministry of Education. These expectations began with upgrading the academic standards of the school, improving student behaviour, and enhancing students' understanding of their culture. Further, in the common context of high staff turnover in indigenous schools, expectations included maintaining staff continuity as much as possible. Expectations imposed on the school by the school district were much the same as those imposed by the Ministry of Education. However, the principal of Site Two felt he had considerably more discretion in program modification and individualisation to meet the needs and expectations of the



community. Additionally, the community, through the Education Society, expected that the principal do all he could to bring the local language and culture into the school.

A final, perhaps surprising, aspect of educative leadership in this school expressed by the principal was in the area of constraints versus opportunities for leadership. Given the demanding, and in some ways contradictory, expectations placed on the principal it was initially surprising to hear such a veteran principal refer to the opportunities for leadership as opposed to the constraints imposed on the school leader.

There are, very definitely, fewer constraints on leadership in a school like this than there are in other schools and more opportunities for educational leadership. That's been a thrill of the job. And that's a must for this kind of situation. And that's why I'm so thankful for the kind of leadership and opportunities that the school district is providing. With the superintendent and those people, what they ask me to do is to do a job but you find your way to do it sort of thing. That's very important in this kind of job. (Principal, BC Site Two)

### **British Columbia Site Three**

Site Three was approximately 300 kilometres southwest of Site Two. However, to get there entailed a drive 400 kilometres south and then 600 kilometres west across the interior plateau to the coastal mountains. Recently built on a reserve on the outskirts of a small town, Site Three was nestled at the base of looming, snowcapped mountains. The town that served the reserve and the surrounding area was built around the mouth of a river at the head of a long, tidal channel. Fishing and logging industries were based in its sheltered harbor.

Site Three was not only situated in a spectacular location, it was also a magnificent physical structure. Reflecting the local culture, Site Three was composed of a number of longhouses (traditional houses for accommodating extended families) joined together around a gymnasium and a library. The outside walls were adorned with large paintings and carvings depicting clan totems and the seasons. Large murals with similar themes were also painted on the inside walls above pictures of elders and local art.

Two principals were interviewed for Site Three. The principal I had been negotiating access to the school with for the previous year had taken an educational leave four months before my visit to complete a graduate degree. He had been the principal of the school for the previous four years and, through my communications with him, had helped me gain permission from the Band and the Education Authority to visit the school. Given his experience living and working in the school community, I felt his perceptions of the nature of leadership in the school would be

valuable. Thus, he was interviewed at his parent's home near the university in which he was enrolled. In this study he will be referred to as Principal Two, BC Site Three.

### **Principal One, British Columbia Site Three**

The on-site, non-indigenous principal of Site Three had been at the school for four months. This was his first principalship. In spite of his short time at Site Three, the principal was articulate about the nature of community involvement with the school. Before the school was built parents had no choice but to send their children to the School District-operated school closer to town. For years parents had wanted their own school for their children, and to run it themselves. When asked to describe the school's relationship with the community, he said:

The input into this school from the community is much greater than you'll find in any white school. . . . They're proud of this school. Their kids go to this school. That's the only reason they're sending them here is because they get their culture here. They're with other native kids. They have a sentimental feeling about this school which I haven't seen since I was maybe six years old or something. . . . This school also showcases their culture. Not only by the paintings on the school and the physical structure of the school, which is built like longhouses, but also by the events that take place in the school; by the dances, by the potlatches, by the language things taught here and they're very proud of that. (Principal One, BC Site Three)

Few would deny that community involvement tends to be good for a school. However, in this case there arose a situation that illustrates some negative consequences of community involvement. The previous year a new chief had to be chosen. Traditionally, the selection of chief was based on heredity. However, in recent decades, the system of Band administration imposed by the DIAND required that chiefs be elected representatives. At the time of this research, the community of Site Three was equally divided between traditionalists who wanted to return to having hereditary chiefs, and 'modernists', who wished to continue with elected chiefs. The two most powerful clans were on opposing sides. The rest of the community joined either side. Consequences of this impacted on the school. The First Nations staff members at the school were also divided. In addition, the children at the school suddenly found themselves lobbying for their parents. At one point, following a riotous meeting downtown, parents on one side sent their children to the school with a petition for other students to sign against the elected chief. The situation escalated and intensified to the point that buses were on standby and evacuation plans were ready.

Given the extent to which community affairs shaped the socio-political context of the school, it was of crucial importance for the principal to remain fair and neutral in his roles both within and

outside of the school. Again, the principal's role was not limited to the administration of the school. Although he described his role in familial terms as being like a father, and his biggest role to provide leadership in the school that was fair, he also spoke of his roles beyond the school.

A lot of the Band Education Council members are not well educated. They're not familiar with other schools and how they operate. . . . They'll ask my opinion about this and that. I'm on the Band Finance Committee. I'm also on the Band Personnel and Maintenance Committee. So, the job just isn't looking after the running of the school, it's also overseeing other things outside the school. (Principal One, BC Site Three)

Leadership for staff, students, and adults in the community, community involvement, and fairness were also identified as some of the more important qualities of a principal in an interview with the Band Manager. Thus, with respect to the principal's roles, the Band Manager's comments supported the perceptions Principal One developed after only four months on the job.

### **Principal Two, British Columbia Site Three**

Principal Two, an experienced First Nations principal from central Canada, had held the position at Site Three for the previous four years. His long-considered reflections on the schooling of First Nations peoples were evident in the manner in which he articulated the context of First Nations schooling.

I would say probably 70 or 80% of them leave the system by the time they should be in Grade 10. Here you still have parents from the Band sending their kids to that [provincial] school because they think it's better. . . . I think one of the things that the Band, [here] has found itself caught up in is trying to compare itself all the time to the provincial system when I really think that there should be sort of an education system devised by the Band that you can't compare with the Provincial system. I don't think the Eurocentric education system is compatible with the culture, the world view. (Principal Two, BC Site Three)

He spoke at length about the cultural contradictions between First Nations and non-First Nations as it related to the principalship.

And I think that, in the city you can do a pretty good job as a principal being sort of technically correct, sort of adhering to policy and all this type of thing but that doesn't really cut it in a Native community. I really think that people who do well in Native communities are people that are kind of subversive, that don't really buy the system. . . . I think, as a teacher, if you kind of share that resistance, and by sort of bucking the system, by saying, well, you know, it doesn't really work for us or this policy doesn't really work for us. (Principal Two, BC Site Three)

In discussing the shortcomings of the mainstream system with respect to educating First Nations students, he supported comments the previous three principals made about the complex

roles of the principal and opportunities for leadership in indigenous schools. Like the others, he ranked highly the importance of educating the Education Council members and providing them with information that would enable them to make decisions. He linked this with conveying the Council's perspective to the staff. Another important role, also identified by the others, was bonding a teaching team and training teachers to fit into the school and into the community.

In Band-operated schools they don't have all the, you know, professional resources that are available to BCTF [British Columbia Teachers' Federation] members and the limited budgets and this and that. They, by and large, hire a fair number of inexperienced teachers or first year teachers. My experience has been that you're working with a lot of rookie teachers every year too. . . . In a Band-operated school you basically don't have, like in a provincial system, where you would have people, directors or assistant superintendents trained in providing in-service on your curriculum, you have to figure that out yourself. You don't have the affiliations with other professional organisations. I found myself involved in a lot of funding matters, trying to get grants for this and that and so on. There's just a whole list of things that I found in a Band-operated school that never really came across my desk in a provincial system. (Principal Two, BC Site Three)

One of the consequences of the demanding roles and many hats worn by this principal and the others was the abundant opportunities for leadership.

I'd say there's definitely more opportunities because you're not confined. . . . In a Band-operated school almost every way you turn, like, hey, this isn't working good and we're only getting 20% of the kids passing or whatever the case, let's look at some alternatives. . . . There isn't any sort of solution that's been found. Now as long as you can justify what you're doing, you know, if you want to try this project or that project, just go ahead, give it a shot, we'll support you type of thing. . . . And I think the other thing in a Band-operated school you're much more on that front line decision making. That was the other big change I found was there was no sort of buffer type of thing. (Principal Two, BC Site Three)

Having had administrative experience in several First Nations and non-First Nations schools, he was also able to express some generalisations about the nature of power, authority, and fairness in them. "I guess in my experience, you never exercise all the authority that you're empowered with. And, like, for someone that does, they don't last very long" (Principal Two, BC Site Three). He compared the exercise of power and authority in First Nations schools with non-First Nations schools.

In a provincial school you could be really authoritarian. . . . If you could get away with it, you know, parents are likely to view the person as being really strict, whereas on a reserve parents are more likely to view that person as being abusive. Like that business of power, that's really important because First Nations people have been denied power in education for so long and the idea of power in education gets back to that whole enemy issue again. . . . But if you're not [respectful of the community and

the students], well there'll be a sense of fairness there but, you know so much is involved in the personality and you know you can take all this stuff, all the sort of clinical supervision stuff and all this administrative theory, like I mean that doesn't mean anything if the personal relationship isn't there. (Principal Two, BC Site Three)

Again, the issue of consensus came up with this principal. For him, with respect to coherence between the community and school vision, it was the biggest challenge facing the school and the community.

I think the biggest thing is community consensus. Sort of a community focus on where the community wants to go on issues. And there being sort of a political split there's sort of a traditional faction and there's another faction that's kind of saying, on the one hand the traditionalists will say, oh, these guys are selling out and the other faction will say, these guys are living in the dark ages, type of thing. That has to be, that sort of lack of consensus is what's spilled over into the school and so like there has to be a community vision. Like you can set your school vision but if it's incompatible with a good part of the community, then you're going to have sort of ongoing problems. (Principal Two, BC Site Three)

#### **British Columbia Site Four**

Site Four, an independent school, was situated in a large First Nations community on an island off the Southwest coast of BC. Like Site One, it was accessible only by seaplane, helicopter, or boat, and classified as a special access community. Given its relatively short distance from the nearest port town, and the frequent departures of local water taxis, I chose to take one to this, the fourth and final study school in BC.

As is often the case in this area, the seas were rough and heavy rains were driven by strong winds when the taxi departed. Tossed about, the water taxi relentlessly plowed through waves that crashed over the bow and smashed against the front window. My initial concerns about the captain's ability to navigate safe passage through a wide channel in such conditions, increased when, at one point, I noted our passing between large rocks within only a few metres of either side of the boat. However, my anxiety was diminished by the calm, carefree manner of the other passengers on the crowded craft. Quiet chatter and the exchange of jokes and stories were briefly replaced with loud laughter whenever a particularly huge wave crashed over the boat. Clearly, my fellow passengers had few doubts about the captain's ability. As I reflected that the First Nations captain was probably an experienced fisherman and a descendant of countless generations of men who had hunted whales from canoes, my concerns dissipated entirely. After nearly an hour we docked at our destination.

Subsequent to checking in to the local guest house, which was simply a family home with a few extra beds, I toured the community and visited the school. The reserve of Site Four had over one thousand residents. The layout of the community, with its division between Old Town and New Town, attested to its growth over the years. Old Town was a collection of older houses and buildings tightly packed around the head of a small, sheltered bay. The school, with its large playing field, was located just behind Old Town. Beyond it, New Town houses were evenly spaced along gravel streets in a modern looking subdivision. Although the community was accessible only by sea or air, there were many cars and trucks all about. The distances from one side of the community were such that vehicles were used to shuttle people, equipment, and supplies throughout the community.

As with the other study schools in BC, the exterior of Site Four was illustrated with culturally significant carvings. A large, carved relief of about three square metres depicting a whale, an eagle, and a sea serpent was placed directly over the front entrance to the school. Architecturally also, the school reflected traditional building styles in its design and construction with the incorporation of numerous large timbers to support the walls and roof.

A former Physical Education and English teacher at the school for seven years, and principal for two, the First Nations principal of Site Four was born in the community. He had learned to speak the local language as a child living with his grandparents. He described the purpose of the school in terms of where he went to school and why he did so. Before the school was built students in the community had to leave for residential schools or board in households elsewhere. Loss of culture and loss of membership was a consequence of several generations of dispersing community members across diverse parts of the province.

What was happening was our children were separated from home, separated from our local culture, separated from all that exposure which led to many things. The influences of society out there; it could be drugs, alcohol, all those type of things. And loss of culture and even just being out there and never coming back. And I went through some of that myself. I think it was probably almost 20 years ago our people started talking about trying to have a school here to reduce the number of dropouts that was happening within our membership. And it had to do with revitalising our culture. (Principal, BC Site Four)

Typical of First Nations cultures, “traditional First Nations values are that family always has to be included” (Principal, BC Site Four). Obviously, including family in education was not possible when children were sent from the home for schooling.

Analogously, beyond the carvings and paintings on the walls about the school, the familial nature of relationships within the school was another immediately noticeable cultural characteristic. On my first day, in the absence of a teacher, I arranged to cover her classes. The first thing students wanted to know was my name, my first name. When I recounted this to the principal during an interview he shared his similar experience.

When I first started here, after coming from the mainstream, kind of like quote, “the real world,” gone through university and doing all my practicums everybody called me Mr. Smith [pseudonym] and I would wear a tie every day, very formal and then coming here my first year I said to the children, I’m Mr. Smith. It went on for one year. Next year came on and I was Jim [pseudonym] and I said, okay, I’m Jim. I think it’s not because we’re trying to be less formal or anything, I think it’s a comfort, the kids are, students are comfortable with Jim. (Principal, BC Site Four)

Underlining the familial context of the school, he added,

When I was just fresh out of the university setting and practicums you know so I come to school Mr. Smith. And you know for a while some of the kids were calling me uncle. So I said, no, no, call me Jim when we’re at school. After school you can call me uncle. They thought that was funny. (Principal, BC Site Four)

The familial nature of the school was imbued with a sense of fairness. The teachers called students by their first names. Therefore, the students considered it was fair that they called the teachers by their first names. The sense of fairness that permeated the school was articulated by the principal with the following illustration.

Probably five years ago you would see our staff bringing a cup of coffee to their classrooms. And the kids would want to drink their pop then. And so we would say, “No you can’t drink pop in the classroom or you can’t eat that cake or the chips in the classroom.” And so the kids raised their voices and said, “well, if we can’t do that, you can’t bring your coffee to the classroom, unless they’re on a spare now.” . . . I really do think it is a sense of fairness. Like we may be on different levels but if you look deeper, the kids want to be, maybe not at our level, but kind of equal. So, you know, you treat me good, I’ll treat you good. You respect me, I’ll respect you. It’s not disrespectful. I don’t hear any disrespect. (Principal, BC Site Four)

When discussing leadership, this principal identified the school leaders both within and outside the school.

In the school community the leaders are, other than myself, our school board, all of the School Board members, but more specifically the School Board chairman, him, and the parents, the children and the teachers, our staff, like if the teachers cannot lead our children, then the delivery of the education is probably not there. (Principal, BC Site Four)

When asked to list the desired attributes or qualities of an education leader for this school he placed having knowledge of the specific culture at the top of the list.

Overall I think they should have sensitivity to and knowledge of the culture, not just Native people in general, but the [local culture], because you should know who they are, where they are, what they stand for and I think that is a must before you can become involved in this job. And others, let's see, certainly must have a history, good working history. And what I think what's more important is an understanding and sensitivity, not only just to this community, but a sensitivity to First Nations people. (Principal, BC Site Four)

He further qualified these attributes with the following statements.

I think they would have to be very involved with, not just involved with the school, but have to know what's going on in the community. It's like tomorrow, I know there's a cleansing ceremony that's happening at 3:00 tomorrow, so I'm thinking about that already. What am I going to do when 3:00 comes tomorrow? I'm going to phone the Band Council and say, you know, do I close the school 15 minutes early and have everybody go down there, or do I continue? . . . . When there's funerals we can't have our children wandering the streets, those types of things, so you have to not only know what's happening in the school, but you have to know what's happening outside. (Principal, BC Site Four)

### **Summary Of British Columbia Sites**

Several dominant, overlapping themes emerged from this brief overview of BC sites. Although the sites were separated by distance and differed with respect to local culture and organisational type, principals' perspectives shared a high degree of touchstone in key areas. First, the importance of the local culture and the school's role in perpetuating that culture was recognised by each principal as being of paramount importance to educational progress. Further to this, respect for, sensitivity to, and knowledge of the local culture was a prerequisite for the effectiveness of the principal. Second, principals' demanding roles extended throughout the community outside the school. With these increased roles came increased opportunities for leadership and specific opportunities for educative leadership in contexts external to the schools. Third, boundaries between the school and outside community were extremely permeable. School-based decisions often required community input and in some cases community consensus. Fourth, relationships within these schools were based on principles of familial organisation and fairness.

The next section presents an overview of results gathered from field research in New Zealand.

### **New Zealand Schools**

The isolated, rural location of the study schools in BC contrasted sharply with that of the suburban and urban study schools in Auckland, New Zealand. The rationale and methodology of site



selection in New Zealand was presented in Chapter Four. As described earlier, a consequence of the historically exploitative nature of non-Maori researchers delving into Maori affairs has been an increased wariness and reluctance of Maori to allow non-Maori researchers access (Smith, McNaughton, & Smith, 1989). This wariness has practical implications for non-Maori outsiders conducting school-based education research. Gaining access to Maori schools, as it is to many indigenous schools, requires adherence to strict protocols. Unsolicited researchers arriving at Maori schools without introductions may not be welcomed. The Maori scholars who assisted me with acquiring pertinent literature and acted as mentors before and during the field research in NZ, also introduced me to several principals. Several months after the fieldwork in NZ had been completed one of these scholars candidly intimated his role as a gatekeeper of Maori knowledge and culture. He made a comment to the effect that I had passed the 'test' during my first meeting with him and was therefore granted access to Maori schools.

### **New Zealand Site One**

Located in a long-established suburban neighbourhood south of central Auckland, NZ Site One is a collection of portable buildings organised together on the edge of a field. The close proximity of overhead power lines has prevented housing development to encroach upon the field. The sense of implied temporality conveyed by the portable buildings was contradicted by the school having been in operation for more than twenty-five years. Unlike the study schools in BC whose boundaries merged with the wilderness on at least one side, NZ Site One was enclosed within a chain-link fence. Similar to the BC schools, culturally significant symbols adorned the greeting sign at the front of the school and were painted on its exterior walls. In addition to these visual cultural artifacts, I was ceremoniously welcomed to this school with an overwhelming display of Maori culture.

My first visit to the school was confined to the principal's office. An experienced teacher and widely respected member of the Maori community, she had been at the school since it started. During that interview we arranged for me to return to the school later in the week at which time I would be welcomed and would then have access to the school. Being a naive outsider, I was unaware what it meant to be welcomed to a Maori school. I was soon to find out.

The principal described the school as a unique school because of its organisation. There appeared to be two key aspects in this regard. First, following from mandates explicit in

*Tomorrow's Schools*, an effort was made in this school, as in many others, to make the schools more parent-oriented. Consequently, this principal decided to

try and make the school a second home. So we're bringing all the things from home that children are used to and building on them here in school. [Things] like the whanau system, the older brother/younger sister, older brother/younger brother concept, the relationship between elders and adults and children. And bring all of those sorts of things into the school, concentrate on reawakening the Maori values within our children and also reawakening or building on the values of our Pacific Island children, the cultural values is what I'm talking about. (Principal, NZ Site One)

Resulting from this approach, the school was structured and organised in ways that were consistent with a marae and entailed that marae protocols were observed. Hence, as with a marae, a visitor is not allowed entrance without a karanga (formal call of welcome by a host woman). On my second visit to the school I was required to wait in the principal's office until we heard a woman begin singing. Her song was the formal call of welcome and initiated the powhiri (formal welcome). Accompanied by an elder, I proceeded slowly to a classroom block outside of which she stood singing. Once I was inside she stopped singing and I was taken to a double classroom in which sixty or more students were standing assembled. They began singing as I entered. When the song had finished another elder, the school's Kaumatua (respected elder), standing at the right front of the classroom, began a long, solemn prayer. Following that, he presented me with an equally long welcome speech. Then it was my turn to give a speech and, to my surprise, custom dictated that at this point the guest sings to the hosts. Both my speech and song were shallow renditions of those which were presented to me. Once again, the students, loud and proud, sang another song. This time their passionate singing was accompanied by a dance depicting the separation of the god of volcanoes from his parents. When the dance was over, to complete the ceremony, all the students and staff in the room lined up and shook hands and rubbed noses (hongi) with me.

For clarification, songs, speeches, and ceremony associated with a visitor entering a marae extend beyond respectful protocols between hosts and guests to include all the ancestors of both groups. Such were the protocols that were observed before I could wander the school and speak with the principal, staff, or students. Clearly, my visit was an occasion for a ceremony that reiterated the values of the school's culture.

Aside from including aspects of a marae, this school was also regarded by the principal, staff, and parents as being unique because it was divided into three distinct sections or syndicates. Of the eleven classes, three were immersion Maori, three were bilingual, and five were immersion

English. All the students in the school spoke, with varying degrees of fluency, combinations of Maori, English, and a Pacific Islands language. Although Maori and English speaking students did not speak a Pacific Island language, all Pacific Islands students spoke some English and Maori.

These three distinct sections of the school were melded together by a web of Maori cultural values and practices. The principal used the metaphor of an umbrella to describe the cohesion within the school.

We have what we call our umbrella for this school, the overall umbrella for this school is what is termed in Maori 'whanaunatanga,' family relationships; that is, the overall umbrella of this school is that relationship one with another, child, elder, children, teachers and the community out there. (Principal, NZ Site One)

As with the BC sites, familial referents were used to describe relationships and refer to people within the school.

When you are here we are one big, happy family. It's just like your family at home. Your principal is your father and mother. And the teachers are your older brothers and sisters, aunties and uncles. Because, if you noted, the children here don't call their teachers, Mr. & Mrs. or Miss. They call then whaea and matua, which is aunt, mom, uncle, father. They use those titles with the teachers and not Mr. and Mrs. (Principal, NZ Site One)

A visible and vital component of the whanau system (extended family) operating within the school was the use of elders. The elder that greeted me during the welcoming ceremony worked in classrooms with teachers and students every day. He was also member of the Board of Trustees. Recognised by the principal as one of the leaders within the school, one of his roles was to address frictions within and between families outside of the school. In addition to this elder, the school had a group of elders, "a Kaumatua Committee, Maori Kaumatua Committee [within the community] that we can tap into if we require assistance in anything from the elders that's over and above our own elder" (Principal, NZ Site One).

Employing elders within the school and utilising them outside of the school was one of the many ways the school was an active part of the community. The school was involved in the community to the extent that "whatever happens within the community that we think our school should focus on, then we'll try to get involved" (Principal, NZ Site One). Unlike the small homogeneous communities enveloping the study schools in BC, "this school community extends across Auckland" (Principal, NZ Site One). In addition to the engagement of elders and the school's involvement in community affairs, active community involvement was perceived as having an important role in educating the children within the school.

I'm aware also that a lot of the educating from the cultural perspective can't be done just by the school. It has to be a shared responsibility between parent and community, because the school can't do it all on it's own. It must have the support of the parent and the Maori community or the Pacific community that those children come from. It's got to be a dual partnership between home and school to be able to achieve. To be able to achieve we need to be able to work together with parents. We do what we know is right by the standards of the education system and at the same time help our parents to align their cultural heritage and their ethnic beliefs on the other side so that the two can be brought together, I suppose molded together to make the child holistically. (Principal, NZ Site One)

In the description of her role as principal, extending herself to the community figured as prominently as her roles within the school.

Classified as the manager of the school, I manage the school. So I manage the school by making sure that I've the right staff, the things that I want done with the school, and then I'm responsible for the curriculum to make sure that the curriculum is taught in the way that is appropriate for children's learning. I'm also responsible for making sure that my staff are properly trained, too, that they attend professional development courses to upskill themselves regularly. I look after the needs of the parents within this school community as well. By that, I mean, when there are things they're not too sure about that's going on in the school and they come and they ask. I have to tell them. I keep them informed about how the school is operating either through newsletters or through one-to-one, or going along to some of their church meetings and get questioned by them there, or going along to a birthday. Where the community is involved I have to be visible, though I don't do it as well I should. I guess my basic leadership role is making sure that the children are given an education that they're entitled to and then to make sure that the parents' needs are met as well. Making sure that my Board of Trustees is kept in touch with what goes on day by day in the school. And making sure that the Ministry gets the information back they ask for. (Principal, NZ Site One)

One final observation of the nature of leadership within this school relates to the notion of power. Here too, traditional Maori values were expressed. When asked to describe the differences between power and authority, she replied, "I don't like the word 'power'. And I don't like the word 'authority' either" (Principal, NZ Site One).

For me authority is too dogmatic. And power is something that people acquire for themselves. You can't give them power. They have to acquire that themselves. I cringe at the thought of people thinking that I have power in the school and I cringe, also, at the fact that they think I have the authority to do the things that happen in the school. I don't know whether it's because of the way I've grown up, but I believe in total sharing, not working as an individual. I abhor the idea of doing things on my own. I would prefer to do it as a collective. I feel that as a collective you have more than yourself to be accountable to, that you're accountable not just to yourself, but to a collective of people. And that's what schools are like. Schools are a collective. I try desperately here to share what little knowledge I have about running a school, about how to work with parents especially and I try to share that with my staff in the

hope that somewhere inside in their innermost, something will light up and they will think, well, you know, I know for me that is what I'm supposed to be doing, too. But also the other thing is that as a collective there are so many more ideas that you can share with one another. (Principal, NZ Site One)

### **New Zealand Site Two**

In contrast to a cluster of temporary, portable buildings, the next study school came into existence in 1848 and moved to its present site at the turn of the century. Decades of additions extended from the original stone and brick buildings. Located a short walk from the centre of the city, enrolling secondary girls only, this was the only boarding school included in this research.

Following a brief introduction with the principal, I was sent with the Administrator/Drama teacher on a short tour of the school. The tour took up fifteen minutes of the first period and ended in a large room full of girls waiting for the Drama teacher to lead them in a rehearsal of a performance they were about to take on a student recruitment tour. Since the reforms stemming from the Picot Report included abandoning the boundaries demarcating school catchment areas, NZ schools have had to assertively recruit students to keep their enrolments up. This school, a private boarding school, had been in the business of recruiting students for many years before Picot. However, facing competition from other similar schools across NZ and a falling roll, this school had to work harder than previously to keep enrolments up. For the remainder of the period I watched the girls perform. The entire performance was in Maori. It was explained to me that their first song and dance, on domestic violence, had two themes. One theme presented that domestic violence is wrong, the other that girls are strong and have to be strong in a world dominated by men. Indeed, witnessing the power and passion of these students as they sang and dance left little doubt in my mind as to their formidable strength.

The Maori principal of NZ Site Two, like all the other principals in the study, had neither a graduate degree nor had she received any formal preparation for the principalship. With only one exception, all the principals in this study came into the position following years of classroom teaching. Formal qualifications in administration, if mentioned at all by principals, teachers, students, or community stakeholders across all international sites, were well down on the list of desired attributes of a principal. This principal, like the other participants, cited familiarity with the indigenous culture and empathy for members of the culture as key attributes for a principal. Following that,

if they are Maori, then good, then I would expect that Maori to have expertise in all aspects of curriculum development. . . . Whoever comes in would have to have a very deep understanding and knowledge of how you analyse programs and work out strategies to actually implement those policy changes. That they can translate and implement those policies into the school so that the staff and the children will understand why those changes have been made. (Principal, NZ Site Two)

During the interviews, this principal blended the purpose of the school and her role as principal. "The purpose is to educate the girls for their future. The purpose also is to train them to be future leaders for my people" (Principal, NZ Site Two). When asked about her role, she responded,

Well, I've got many roles. I'm an educator. I'm a mother. I'm a grandmother, believe it or not. And I'm a role model for the Maori girls that are here so that they have a view that the future is really what they're on about. I want them to be strong, to be confident and I want them also to be very articulate in terms of their preparation for future leadership. I expect them to leave here knowing about themselves, where they come from, who they belong to and who they are responsible for, and that they are able to, in their own adult life, be able to do the same for Maori people. I want them to be confident in two worlds. The Maori world, that's where they come from, and the Pakeha world, because that's to take them into the future. So that they are able to live a lifestyle that they deserve. If that means the cultural capital of Pakeha, then so be it. But they never forget their roots. They never forget that they belong to a proud race. (Principal, NZ Site Two)

Once again, the indigenous culture was at the forefront of the purpose of the school and the role of the principal. Clearly, Maori culture permeated the school. The Maori concept of extended family, the whanau, was the root metaphor for the school's organisation.

In the Maori social structure there is a particular order and that order has to do with all the adults and the children of the community. Now when you transfer that kind of dynamics into a school it doesn't have to have carvings. It doesn't have to have the marae as we know it at home, because this is a marae anyway by its own nature of being a whanau. . . . So it doesn't matter where you come from in the social order, your contribution is valued. And that's the same dynamics that happen in the marae. . . . It's the older/younger, the teina/tuakana, not a nuclear whanau, but a whanau extended. Now those whanaus altogether make up a wider group called hapu [clan, sub-tribe]. So there's a number of extended families in a particular marae. But then it gets broader when you've got all those hapu and they make a waka or iwi [tribe]. And it just embraces everyone. So you're related by your canoe and you're also related by your hapu and you're related by your whanau. . . . It's important for our girls to know that because when they can stand up and say who they are, who their ancestors are, where they come from, and the significance of that particular area and its link to the wider canoe area. And those are basic. We actually teach those in the school as well as what they learn in their subject areas. . . . Not only do we teach it in the curriculum, it's part and parcel of their lifestyle. Because they know that they belong to this hapu or that whanau or whatever, and they also know that these waiatas are all interwoven.

So it's a lifestyle as well, that is not dead, but it's alive. And I think that's very important in terms of making things, living things actually relate to the past as well. Because from the past comes your future. (Principal, NZ Site Two)

Similarly, the principal perceived of and exercised leadership in a manner consistent with the way in which Maori women exercise leadership on a marae.

Inherent in leadership, for me anyway, in a Maori context you're really passive. Because you actually take a backward step and sort of drive from the back to the front. . . . In our culture, Pakeha people perceive the male Maori to be dominant and domineering. But where I come from, that's not the case, because before any formal hui [gathering] can start on a marae a woman has to start it. And they start it by a call. A call of welcome. A woman in her karanga can say whatever she wants to remind the men, "look, I want you to say this when you have your meeting." Driving it is the woman. And in this school there's a similar philosophy. . . . And while I say a lot of Maori women have a passive role, they really are the people that do make decisions and they drive it from behind. (Principal, NZ Site Two)

Congruous with indigenous perspectives on the collective verses the individual, the principal articulated her views on power.

For me, power is about sharing. I think power is improving on those things that you need to make better for the girls. I think power is about people learning, learning to live and make decisions together. And I think power is what people make it. I don't think power should override what people want to do. If it's just to be blatant and to stop progress, then I think that's the wrong use of power. I think power, as I see it, is a positive quality of sharing. . . . Authority is different. Authority is about an individual, like I have the authority to do this. It's not about the group having the authority to do this. . . . Power is about sharing. And power is about how you share that responsibility. But I think authority is for an individual. (Principal, NZ Site Two)

### **New Zealand Site Three**

A secondary college built in a South Auckland suburb about thirty years previously, NZ Site Three was the most multicultural school included in this study. When it first began, and for some time thereafter, NZ Site Three primarily enrolled Maori students. However, with a dramatic influx of Pacific Island immigrants in recent years, the demographics have changed considerably. Pacific Islanders have displaced Maori in the local community to the extent that not half of the student population was Maori. The multicultural mix at this school was one of two main contributing factors that added to a perception of turbulence that some observers used to describe this school. The abolition of catchment zones and an increasingly competitive schooling market was another.

Enrollments had fallen from the time zoning boundaries were abolished. In the previous two years, the enrolment had taken an unexpected drop from 580 to 450 students. Students who had

either the means to attend schools outside the suburb of Site Three, or sufficient financial means to attend other schools, did so for a variety of reasons. Some schools were considered more attractive because they were newer and better equipped with modern resources. Furthermore, three years of poor reports from the Education Review Office had contributed to a spiraling exodus of higher achieving students. As a result, Site Three had one of the lowest academic rankings of the seventy secondary schools in Auckland.

Changing demographics, falling rolls resulting in staff cuts, and poor reports from the Education Review Office, had brought increased attention and scrutiny to Site Three. With the increased attention, usually resulting in negative publicity, staff were uneasy about having a researcher spend a week observing and interviewing in the school. Consequently, the principal preferred that I interview him outside of the school and limited my visits to the school. In this case, although I was more dependent on the perspective of the principal than in the other study schools, interviews with other teaching staff and informed observers, also off the school premises, reinforced much of what he had to say.

A former activist for Maori rights, the principal had held his position for the ten years that he had been at Site Three. He emphasised frequently the importance of teaching students their indigenous language and culture whether it was Maori, Tongan, Samoan, Cook Island, or Niuean. Certainly, evidence of these cultures was conspicuously apparent at this school. In addition to adorning the exterior and interior walls and corridors, rooms were allocated for cultural groups to decorate with their art. Every year, each group hosted a week long festival of song, dance, and traditional activities in celebration of their culture.

Common to each culture represented in the school was the value of the extended family, whanau for the Maori, fanau for Samoan, Tongan and Niuean, and anua for Cook Island students. "Knowledge of one's whakapapa [genealogy] is one of the most important forms of Maori knowledge. Understanding of self occurs within a context of understanding your relationship with others" (Principal, NZ Site Three).

In traditional Maori society one learned about one's relationships with others on the marae. Broadly speaking, in the words of the one of the other Maori principals, "the learning forum for Maoris generally is on the marae. They learn how to interact with each other. They are also proud of the interaction. They are also practicing the culture of their ancestors. So there's a place for everyone" (Principal, NZ Site Two). The principal of Site Three, like the other Maori principals interviewed, grew up on a marae. He recognised and valued the marae as a learning



institution to the extent that he built one at the school he worked at previously. The first marae built on a school in New Zealand, one of its purposes was to increase the self-esteem of Maori students by validating and celebrating their culture.

When he became principal of NZ Site Three he brought his value of the marae, and all that it stood for, with him. Again, the extended family, the whanau was central. “To me, from a Maori perspective you actually can’t develop things without the whanau” (Principal, NZ Site Three).

When I got here I looked at introducing an ethnic whanau pastoral care system which involved setting up councils of elders. Samoan Council of Elders, Cook Island Council of Elders, Niuean, Tongan and Maori Councils of Elders. It involved linking them up with the [local] judges and the court officials. . . . We established these councils of elders and we also set up ethnic whanau within the school so that the children, when they came to school, they were grouped in extended family groups which were essentially ethnic groups. And we had elders coming in in the mornings and the first thing in the morning sitting and being with the students of each of the ethnic groups. Opening the day in their own traditional ways and with their own meetings and conferences and seminars and then going into the ordinary programmes for the school. (Principal, NZ Site Three)

Within this school community, traditional values clashed with modern, western notions of organisation. Notions of ‘time’ and ‘business’ were two areas that indigenous and Western world views collided.

Of course, for indigenous people, time is an entity that is in some ways, a contradictory way, is kind of measureless or it’s not meaningful from the point of view of a Western perspective because when we look back, we’re actually looking forward, in a sense. You will hear this in proverbs. You will hear this in the way our perceptions of time are different, but we must remember that the political force that we’re operating under is still in many ways dictating the terms as far as the definition of time. And so we had a struggle, it’s an internal one, a cultural one and with the feet in both worlds, we’re having to try to pull those perceptions, those concepts together. But we’ve got a whole lot of our own people out there and other Polynesian people, too, to try to pull in so that we can get some common ground of agreement. So that once you get that then you can move forward. (Principal, NZ Site Three)

The abandonment of catchment zones and the consequential increase in competition between schools for students interacted with a national policy approach to school-based management. This entailed that principals exercised increasingly sophisticated business acumen. The only alternative to having business skills was being able to afford to hire a business manager. This was an option not available to the poorer schools in New Zealand.

Bulk funding means that the schools would be able to run their school like a business. Now that assumes that the schools, from their communities, are going to be able to attain the governance expertise which is absolutely essential for successful operations.

One of the biggest problems that [Site Three] has had, along with several other schools, is the fact that our members of our Boards of Trustees, many of them hardly speak and are able to write or are literate in English. They are literate in their own languages and quite capable with expertise in terms of running things their way. But there is a huge jump and a huge change that is absolutely necessary if you're going to successfully run a business and an operation such as a secondary school. (Principal, NZ Site Three)

In conjunction with an emphasis on greater accountability, the shift to a more business-oriented approach to school management has contributed to accelerate the changing roles of principals in New Zealand. He was asked if he saw his roles changing over time.

Quite a significant change really. There has been a change in the greater amount of communication. The other change has been in the greater emphasis on the accountability of staff. The more sort of performance oriented perspective. Now, it does require implementing and putting into place new structures that have come to hand because when, over ten years ago now, when we did our orientation and our courses on being a new principal, there were no such devices or tools that were actually advocated or given to us. Now we've got such elaborate systems, which I believe are good. I believe that it does provide a greater sort of accountability as far as performance is concerned and as far as delivery of curriculum and assessment is concerned. What has been the stumbling block has been the staff as well as the union and because of the lack of expertise from the point of view of the governance and the Board of Trustees. . . . And so that puts a lot of pressure back on you as a principal, because you are involved in having to try to teach your own Board, and if they're coming from different perspectives and a staff who belongs to their culture or ethnicity and who is able to speak to them fluently in their own language, there's been a certain discordance in that area. (Principal, NZ Site Three)

The multicultural mix of students and staff largely defined the desired attributes of an educative leader for this school. Included among such attributes, community involvement was also valued as a key component.

I think the qualities have definitely got to be the ability to relate to the diverse ethnic groups. The ability as well to relate to the diversity of staff in terms of the role modeling for them and to provide a stable sort of professional leadership. . . . Definite leadership in terms of involvement with the community and that was my big focus. (Principal, NZ Site Three)

Similarly, the cultural context shaped the practice of educative leadership.

The teaching environment has got to be compatible with the student and you have to have a learning environment that's compatible for you. I'll go to your home and I'll find that you've got yourself in a little niche down somewhere which may not appeal to me, [sic] appeal to others. . . . You've also got to look at the whole question of the holistic perspective of the being, of the individuals. And the environment has got to be one that's acknowledging, that is supportive, that constantly acknowledges the self, the individual, from the different ethnicities and their expectations and values. If you can support those, then you go for it. You develop those structures within the school

so that they do feel that comfort. And there has to be some sort of limits on that, too. You can go so far. You can go too far. And some just nowhere near enough because they're maintaining a very monocultural environment which can be a very threatening learning environment for some, but not for others. (Principal, NZ Site Three)

When discussing problems and challenges facing the school, lack of expertise on the part of the trustees was put forth as the main one. "In terms of the Board of Trustees, the expertise, or the lack of expertise. Therefore, there needs to be a new kind of management structure that ensures that there is going to be the expertise on the board" (Principal, NZ Site Three). To develop the new management structure he suggested that "for schools such as [this one] there needs to be two principals. . . . And that criteria be established that looks at the composition of the community" (Principal, NZ Site Three).

### **Summary of New Zealand Sites**

As in BC, there were several predominant themes shared across the New Zealand study schools. The preeminence of Maori culture was common to all schools. Knowledge of Maori culture was one of the most important attributes for a principal. Each school attempted to replicate marae structures. Even in the case of NZ Site Three in which Maori students were not the majority, the Maori whanau underpinned activity and organisation within the school. The whanau structural base was evident in each school to a greater extent than were extended family structures in the BC study schools. Also in these schools, similar to the study schools in BC, boundaries between school and community were permeable. Principals perceived of themselves as being educative leaders within the school and in the greater school community beyond the school. Each of the principals expressed ways in which their schools and their practices of educative leadership continued to be impacted upon by the reforms stemming from the Picot Report of 1986.

The following section of this chapter presents information gathered in schools in Northern Territory, Australia, the third and final national context of this research.

### **Northern Territory Sites**

While each of the study schools in BC and two of the three in NZ enrolled students from one language group, two of the three schools studied in Northern Territory enrolled students from four and more language groups. Australian aboriginal languages are as diverse as the country is vast. Several languages may be spoken in the same region. Effectively addressing the linguistic and

cultural needs of each language group within a school was a challenging task. Two of the study schools in NT were isolated. One, the first school studied, was situated in an urban centre.

### **Northern Territory Site One**

Established two decades ago, NT Site One is located in an urban centre that functions as the main service provider for a large area of central Australia. Site One is a community controlled, independent school established by parents living in the town camps within and around the town for the purpose of providing a culturally appropriate education to their children.

Since its inception, Site One has been a high profile school with a well-publicised history of struggle and determination. Prior to the establishment of Site One, Aboriginal children from the numerous town camps attended mainstream schools in the town. Over time, Aboriginal parents and community members perceived several problems with this arrangement. Children from the town camps experienced low rates of success as measured by test scores, grade completions, and drop-out rates. These unsatisfactory outcomes were compounded by parental concerns that the overly European curriculum would contribute to Aboriginal language loss and a diminishment of the spiritual link with the land. The feared consequence was that the children would alienate themselves from their traditional cultures and become too Europeanised. Additionally, the traditional orientation of the people living in the town camps prescribed that their children be taught by their own family and not strangers.

Such were the practical and philosophical considerations that initiated the development of Site One. When it began, Site One was a school without a building. Taught by parents and community members, the first classes were held in houses and under trees in back yards in various town camps. Eventually, the school acquired a trailer and a temporary, albeit fixed, location. After five years of operation and many rejections, the school was finally granted registration by state and federal governments. Ten years after its inception, a permanent site was decided upon and the construction of the present buildings begun.

Since then, the school has grown into a large and complex organisation. At its base is a firm commitment to a “Two-Way” (Harris, 1990 & 1993) philosophy and a holistic approach to the educational development of students and their families. Described previously in Chapter Two, the aim of the “Two-Way” or “Both-Ways” approach is to equip students with the skills and confidence to be successful in both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal societies. This entails that the

school teach English and other non-Aboriginal knowledge as well as reinforce Aboriginal identity, cultural knowledge, values, and spirituality.

To this end the school was organised in such a manner as to facilitate instruction in English and each of the four local languages. Rather than age/grade grouping, students were grouped in classes according to their languages. Curricular materials, unavailable in the local languages, were produced at the school's fully equipped literacy and culture centre. Staffed by fluent speakers of each of the four language groups, this vital component of the school produced materials as required for classroom teachers. In addition to a day-care centre, and a transition class for senior students moving on to secondary schools, there was one class for each of the four language groups. The complexity of this school with respect to organisation, staffing, and funding was beyond that of any of the other study schools.

Further compounding the complexity of this school, yet an integral part of it, was the unique role and active participation of the School Council. Unlike the School Councils of study schools in BC and NZ, in which members were elected for a term of several years, the School Council of NT Site One was divided between life members and elected members. Also referred to as founding members, the life members were those people who founded the school two decades previously and continued to have an active role in its operation. The active role played by Council members in the day to day affairs of the school was greater, by design and in practice, than in other schools studied during this research.

Negotiating access to conduct research in this school was not immediately successful. My first request to visit the school for research purposes was turned down by the School Council. However, following the recommendations of numerous educators and researchers to persist negotiating access, after more than a year of corresponding and telephone calls my request was approved.

A large black, red, and gold sign declaring the school's name, School Council and the school logo stood just inside the fenced schoolyard. As with study schools in BC and NZ, culturally significant art was throughout the school. Several enormous murals, depicting central Australian Aboriginal people and their lifestyles, animals, birds, and landscapes covered the entire outside walls of classroom blocks.

Unlike the study schools in BC and NZ, the school had a director instead of a principal. Having never been a teacher, she came to hold this key leadership position through avenues other than the classroom. A community-oriented, politically active woman, the director had an eclectic

background including extensive experience as a community-school liaison person, Aboriginal Legal Aid officer, and an employee of the Department of Employment, Education, and Training (DEET). Although she had only been director of the school for three years at the time of the research, her relationship with the school began many years previously when the school was being formed and continued as the school developed. Ten years before she became the director she was employed at the school to set up the child-care preschool.

The director's foundation in her culture was immediately evident. She introduced herself in our first interview by initially establishing her identification with her language group and the land that belonged to them. Then she profiled her immediate family members and described their lives and relationships. The importance of culture, place, family, and familial relationships was immediately evident.

My first visit with the director took place on the school playground before school had begun. She was doing playground supervision until the rostered supervisor arrived. At the time, she was surrounded by a small group of children who were giving her an animated description of two kangaroos they had startled on their way to school. As the children spoke with her I noticed that each one of them called her "nana." During the remainder of the week I spent at the school I observed that, without exception, all the Aboriginal staff in the school referred to the director with some form of familial referent such as auntie, nana, sister, cousin, or mother.

Highly valued in Aboriginal culture, familial relationships and their referents were the first indicators of Aboriginal values I observed at the school. The valuing of Aboriginal culture was inherent in the stated purposes of the school and essential in the director's role as an educative leader within the school and within the wider school community.

My main role is that I must make sure that the school is running properly. That it is running to the satisfaction of the old, traditional people. Now I must make sure that all the laws and the traditions and the culture is maintained here because that's the philosophy. But I also have to make sure that these children's English learning is progressing. And these children are gaining the knowledge of Western language. (Director, NT Site One)

The school's adherence to traditional laws and customs became personalised for me when I was introduced to several staff members in the presence of an elder. When my name was mentioned the elder frowned and spoke quietly in her language to the woman who introduced me. It was then explained to me that an elder with the same name as mine had recently died. Local custom dictated that the name of a deceased person was not to be spoken for up to a year

following his death. Consequently, the elder gave me another name rather than my own, that I was to use and be addressed by for the duration of my visit to the school.

Unquestionably, the director's role as an educative leader and problem solver extended beyond the school.

Any problem, anything that is a problem with one of these families that relate to these children, they come and ask us, will we help them. We have to sometimes. They might have problems with their married life, okay, instead of going to another thing, they come here because of the connection with the traditional law. So they come here, we have to sort that out. We have to sort out their financial problems, like social security problems or problems they might have with DEET or problems they might have with the hospital that they weren't looked after properly. The shops might, in their opinion, discriminate against them. We have to find out what's happening there. These little things that people might think, oh, that's their own business. It is their business but they don't know how to do it so they come here to get us to do it. . . . So, we're not looking after them only in a way where we're educating their children. We have to educate them in a sense of understanding the Western culture, the laws, politics and all this sort of stuff. (Director, NT Site One)

When describing the purposes of the school it was difficult to separate them from her role as Director.

Well, what we mean is, like for disadvantaged children, if they've got a language problem, an English language problem, their whole life, their environment in their homelife, their welfare, their health, these are the things that we have to look after. Their upbringing into even community life on the weekends and things like that. That's what we deal with here. That's the purpose of [this school]. To make them like any other Australian person in Australia. That's the whole purpose of [this school]. That's what we do. And it's part of our philosophy to make sure that these children do that. (Director, NT Site One)

Again, as with principals in study schools in BC and NZ, part of the educative leader's role was to educate the School Council.

That's part of the Director's role and for all of the staff's role really is to support the Council as in understanding well, Western culture. Mainly mine is to educate them how the education system works, how the financial system works. When we get the money from Canberra, what it's got to be spent on, these sorts of things. Why it's important that we have to look after all our vehicles and I have to look after all the staff and this sort of stuff. Yeah, it's not easy. . . . And they said before that I'm the first one that's ever told them what their real role is. (Director, NT Site One)

Elders, as resources available to the school, also participated in problem solving directly and indirectly. Their knowledge was sought after and respected.

When I have problems with one of the language groups I go to the elders and talk to them and say, look, this could be a problem at school, it isn't yet but something might happen so I need your advice. You tell me what I should do. They do. So, when I

know it's just about to blow up, well I can step in and say, no, I've spoken to the elders of your people and they told me this is going to happen. That's one of the things too, you've got to be able to talk to those elders. (Director, NT Site One)

Several of the elders were founding members of the school. They were also acknowledged leaders within the school community. When asked who the other leaders were, the director began with identifying one of the founding members on the School Council.

Well, the main person is [woman A], an on-site owner. Even though she doesn't get involved with the Head of Sections Management, she's always there as more or less the number one leader. But to run the school there's [woman B], [woman C] from LCC, [woman D] from Child-care, [woman E] from AnTEP [Anangu Teacher Education Program] and [woman F] and myself. We're what they call the Head of Section Management Team. But we can talk about and discuss anything about the finance or something's not running properly down there. Then you've got the Aboriginal Action Group who can discuss making policies or say that they don't think the children's learning has improved or things like that. Any of the concerns they have they can make recommendation to Council. . . . So, in other words, I suppose when you look at it in a broader picture, I suppose every staff member is a Head of Section. (Director, NT Site One)

In conjunction with their recognition as leaders, the elders and founding members were also identified as powerbrokers in the school community. Most of the power, however, was held by the parents.

Well, the powerbrokers, I suppose is firstly the two owners, [woman A] & [man A] then you've got your life members of the school, then your Council, but I think the biggest powerbrokers are the parents. Cause they're the ones. Now if they don't want to send these children to school here they don't have to. (Director, NT Site One)

The director saw herself as having considerably less power than the parents.

When it comes to those three categories [Council, parents, and director] I'm the bottom. That's why I like to keep the parents happy. . . . They're the main powerbrokers. Keep them onside or you're not going to get anywhere. And I think too, a lot of the things for this job, you've got to be able to work with those people. Now sometimes they come in and they're half drunk and they're filthy and dirty, but they come and give you a cuddle. You've got to accept that. You can't push them away. . . . I think the most important thing I've found here is don't ever push anybody away, it doesn't matter whether they're drunk, stoned or what, or they're dancing around there with a stick. (Director, NT Site One)

At this school also, the director identified more opportunities for leadership than constraints upon it.

There's no such thing as constraints here as far as I'm concerned. I can go and say or whatever I think that can be done, I can go and say to them. But before I do I'll have a talk with [woman A] and ring up the president, cause he comes every day normally



when he's not sick. And I sit down and say to them, well, what do you think? Can I do this? And you know what they say? "You're the boss. Not us. You're the boss. You want to go and do it. You go and do it." I never, I never try to block anything that I can see is legal advantage or something valuable to the school. But when it comes to like if they're having a dig at me, I just say go and talk to [woman A] or whoever. There's no constraints as far as I'm concerned. Or as far as the staff are concerned in this school. If there's something they want to do and if I think it's for the benefit of the children and other staff, I'll let it go. . . . Part of my thinking is, okay, let's give it a try. It might not sound sensible or whatever, it might not seem to be sound, but if you don't try, how are you going to learn? (Director, NT Site One)

With respect to her preparation for her present position, Aboriginal knowledge was given more consideration than formal qualifications.

Just my knowledge. My Aboriginality is the important factor. Coming from an Aboriginal clan, Central clan, and I think to always be communicating with my traditional family which gave me the background for having the skills and knowledge for this job. Because that's the job. I mean a piece of paper, you don't have to have a piece of paper here. Traditional people respect your Aboriginality, your knowledge, your culture, who you come from and all that sort of thing. They're on the Council too. (Director, NT Site One)

Similarly, when asked to describe the qualities of a person to fill her position she mentioned the need for Aboriginal knowledge and Western knowledge.

Well, what I'll be looking for is, they've got to be quite knowledgeable in all the funding of all the Aboriginal organisations, all government organisations. They have to understand the funding side of it, the communications side, they have to be a person, not aggressive, because sometimes they'll come and chase you with a nulla nulla or whatever. Someone who's got a good understanding of Aboriginal culture, Aboriginal law as well as the Western side. All the politics of that is important, right. I'd be looking at a person who's flexible. . . . It's no good taking this job on and saying, I'm the boss, you're not doing this, you're not doing that, you know, this sort of thing. That's out. (Director, NT Site One)

The director identified attendance as a challenge facing the school. However, she saw the attendance problem as being part of larger problem with the family. Here, too, addressing an attendance problem extended the role of the educative leader into the community. Staffing was also identified as a problem.

Well I think one of the things [problems] is the attendance. Because the attendance fluctuates. One time we might have a 100 kids, then we might drop down to 60. That we find is a problem. And the problem is not actually the children. The problem is at home and that's where we've got to work from. That's our challenge is to go out to that home and find out what's the problem there. And then the next route is we get the appropriate Aboriginal organisations to work with these people to make sure that our challenge is met and that the kids are coming to school. And that's, in my book, the problems and the challenges. The number one priority is to make sure that these

children come to school. Then our problem is sometimes if I don't have enough staff.  
(Director, NT Site One)

Given the numerous references to extending the role of the school leader into the community, it seemed redundant to ask how the school was part of the community.

It belongs to the community. It is a community school. It is. I mean, we're not only educating the children, as I've explained to you. Part of our philosophy and objectives and aims of the Council is, too, that we look after their health and whatever. Because if they're not healthy kids, then the parents aren't healthy and things aren't happening, then there's nobody to get the kids to school. (Director, NT Site One)

### **Northern Territory Site Two**

Accessible by sea or air, NT Site Two is situated on an island off the north coast of Northern Territory. Site Two has been operated under the auspices of the Catholic Church since a Catholic Mission was established on the island in the early part of this century. An accredited bilingual school, children learn to read and write in their own language for the first three years and then instruction in English begins in Year Four.

Sharing the same language, the Aboriginal population in the area is divided into four clan groups. Traditional protocols are strictly adhered to governing interpersonal communication and relationships. Some of these protocols impact upon the operation of the school. For instance, direct face-to-face communication is forbidden between half the clans and between brothers and sisters after they reach puberty. In order to facilitate thorough communication between the school and the community, Aboriginal teaching and administrative staff initiated an alternative to the mainstream model of school administration.

In spite of the casual grazing of an untethered horse, the school grounds were carefully manicured. Paintings and murals, illustrating aspects of the local culture, covered virtually every outside wall of every building. All the art decorating the school was the work of a local artist who had been employed at the school on a part-time basis for a number of years. Inside the school buildings, mission statements, educational slogans, and curricular trappings were visible in offices, classrooms, and hallways throughout.

The principal, a non-Aboriginal Catholic sister, had held the position for 44 years. At the time of this research she was in the process of retiring from the position. For the previous several years she had been mentoring an Aboriginal teacher/administrator from the community to assume her roles and responsibilities. During the process of mentoring, the 'trainee' principal proposed and developed a more culturally appropriate alternative to the traditional model of the

principalship. Rather than adopting the model of having a single leader as the principal, her model was more coherent with the Aboriginal notion of shared leadership. It was indeed, fortuitous that the fieldwork for this study coincided with the transition from a traditional model of school leadership to a locally developed group model of school leadership. The principal, her 'trainee' principal, and the leadership group were all formally interviewed to gain insights from each perspective.

As with NT Site One, Site Two adopted a 'Two-Way' philosophy that embraced both the local culture and Western culture. In her description of the school, the principal described it as "a unified place. It's a place where two cultures meet" (Principal, NT Site Two). One member of the leadership group felt that "having Both-Ways education [local language and English]" (Member One, Leadership Group, Site Two) was the most important thing about the school.

Throughout the school and beyond it, there was abundant evidence of the high value the school placed on the local culture. From the official recognition of Site Two as a bilingual school, to the development of an administrative model that cohered with the local culture, and to weekly and daily activities within the school, the importance of the local culture was taken as known. A ritual renaming of the school and an ongoing culture program in the school were other examples of the value of the local culture.

The renaming of the school occurred several years earlier after the death of a local woman. She was the first Aboriginal teacher from the region to graduate from a teacher training college in NT. The local community felt that the school's name should be changed to her tribal name in honour of her. After some reluctance the principal agreed. A formal ceremony was held involving traditional rituals in which the school was purified with smoke and the new name given. That ceremony was recognised by the principal as the beginning of the localisation process in which the community started to have a sense of local control and ownership of the school. Soon after the school was renamed, the classification of classes into pre-school, primary, intermediate, and secondary was replaced with local language descriptors that reflected students' physical growth in the traditional manner.

An integral part of the school's curriculum was a cultural program with detailed lessons for each grade throughout the year. Developed in recent years, the culture lessons were put together by the Aboriginal teachers in the school. These lessons were in response to a widely shared concern that the school's culture program had been reduced to consist solely of dancing at the expense of many other aspects of their culture.

Similar to other indigenous groups, relationships, including knowledge of one's ancestry, were valued in the community. Over the years, staff at Site Two had compiled the genealogies of every member of the community. A copy of the completed genealogy was kept at the school and was regularly referred to by community members.

The principal retold an anecdote that underlined the importance of relationships.

The thing here is, people matter, not things. This is a people place. I can remember when I was down in Sydney in hospital about ten years ago and I got a phone call, 'there'll be three taxis out to see you soon.' They'd [people from the community of Site Two] come down, got the taxis, found where I was, came out, sat with me all day, had another day in Sydney then flew back. People asked, 'did you see the Opera House? Did you see the Zoo? Did you see this or that?' They all replied, 'No, we went to see Sister.' (Principal, NT Site Two)

Again, the importance of relationships was brought up in the context of shaping leadership behaviours.

The way you go about it [leadership] is in a supportive role. A caring role. An educational role yes, but you've got to meet the kid first. It's no good saying to the kid, do this mathematics and standing back from the kid. The kid knows straight away. The kid senses your relationship with him. . . . In a Aboriginal setup, because it's not the school, the things they learn here, it's the happiness that we engender for those kids and the trust that they put into us. They're not going to remember they learned this, they're not going to remember that so and so had a weak teacher and that teacher taught me this or something, but that he was kind to me. (Principal, NT Site Two)

Of her many roles, the principal stated that leading by example was one of the main ones.

I think my role here at present is to lead by example and especially, as I am the leader of the leadership group and they learn by what they see, not by what I tell them, not by what I read to them. So one of my big roles is for them to see that little things in a school count very much. You've got to see to the little things. So I'm an advisor, a guide, a friend, a caretaker, a policeman, I'm all those things, I think. (Principal, NT Site Two)

She also expressed how, with the emergence of the leadership group, her role had changed. "My main role now, as I sit here, is to guide this new ship, [Aboriginal] ship into their way of running a school. It's going to be different to my way" (Principal, NT Site Two).

When asked what part leadership played in her roles she described the difficulty of accommodating the need for ultimate decision-making authority within an Aboriginal model of decision making.

It's big I guess, cause even though here you can't be a tall poppy in [Aboriginal] land because it's group leadership. If you're at a ceremony or at a meeting everybody has the right to speak. And no decision is ever made. You'll hear about it later. So I

guess you cannot run a school like that. Somebody has to make that final decision. It can be discussed and discussed and discussed but somebody must make that final decision. So, still, I see myself as a person that after listening and discussing and weighing up the pros and cons for the sake of the staff and the kids, I have to make the final decision and I have to wear that final decision. So I see that as one of the big things in leadership. Is you're able to stand by your decision. (Principal, NT Site Two)

Previously, the principal had developed a domineering personal leadership style. However, as the trainee principal became more confident, particularly after she introduced the group leadership model, the principal modified her own style of leadership.

As a younger person I became very dominant and very powerful. I suppose you might say, not power hungry, but power rested in me. . . . Since about 1990 I've really tried I guess, where I don't make any decision unless those coordinators are all in on it. So I guess the style of leadership I have is group leadership, which is what the [Aborigines] have, and I guess it's a supportive leadership, that if a person's given a job, I believe they can do it and I don't interfere. But yet they know I'm there. (Principal, NT Site Two)

As in the other study schools, the principal expounded upon the numerous opportunities for leadership in the school. However, she qualified her comments by also describing the moderators on leadership behaviour in the form of language usage and the pace of doing business.

Well, I think the biggest challenge to leadership, in a place like this, is you're dealing with two cultures. And you've got to speak a language that's not too simple for non-Aboriginals and not putting the Aboriginals down. And you're thinking, 'if I say this, how are they going to take it and if I say that, how are they going to take it?' . . . There's [also] constraints in the fact that because you're dealing with two cultures and because you're here for the Aboriginal people, there's a certain pace you can go at it. And you'll lose them if you go at a fast pace. (Principal, NT Site Two)

Sensitivity to the local culture was on the top of the list of attributes of a principal for the school.

A person who is sensitive to another culture. You're working with an ancient culture and that deep sensitivity has to be there. A person who is willing to say I don't know to these people and I've got to ask advice. A committed person to the ethos and policy of the school. A person who's not here for their own personal gain. . . . Good self-esteem. A person who's willing to take a risk. I think leadership is a risk taking business. A person who knows when to say no. A listening person. An approachable person. And a person who's able to be the same to everyone because there is nothing, Aboriginal people are so sensitive and kick up straight away if you adhere yourself to one person. You've got to be adaptable. (Principal, NT Site Two)

When describing problems and challenges facing the school, maintaining family harmony and a high staff turnover were cited as requiring constant attention.

I guess if it were saying what is a problem to a stable educational school, you'd say family pressures that our teachers are involved in all the time. That would be the major one. Because family is more important than school. So, if somebody's out of sorts in the family, 'well then I can't come to school or my mind is on my family,' so family pressures are the big one. . . . The ever changing staff is a big problem. Lack of continuity. . . . That's where my continuity has helped the school. (Principal, NT Site Two)

Reminiscent of the words of a Maori principal in which she said the best thing about the school was that it was Maori, this principal said that localisation was the best thing about this school. "The ownership that they're taking on and the responsibility that I see now more so than it's ever been. And to see them growing as professional people. This move has been good" (Principal, NT Site Two).

### **The Leadership Group**

Much of what the leadership group expressed during their interview paralleled that of the principal. The trainee principal was also a member of the leadership group. Upon the retirement of the principal, she will take over the legal responsibilities of administering the school. The four other members of the leadership group supported her and assumed separate teaching and leadership responsibilities in the school community. Each member was also a leader in her clan. One member was responsible for the culture program in the school. Another, in conjunction with the trainee principal, assumed the disciplinarian role in the school. The next one supervised beginning teachers and coordinated the early childhood program. The final member of the group was responsible for the bilingual program in the school.

Even though their group leadership model was somewhat new at the time of the research, one thing was certain. "There's no one leader in this school. No one leader in this group. We work together" (Member, Leadership Group, NT Site Two).

Members of the group were also clear about the expectations imposed on them. They agreed that they were expected to work more than the other teachers in the school. In addition to their weekly meeting, they met together when required and when community members brought problems to them at their homes.

Members of the group had been working first as teaching assistants and then as teachers at the school for a number of years. They described the school as changing. The change was one of localisation. More Aboriginal teachers were working in the school than previous years. However, although they felt that the change was positive, all were emphatic that the best thing about the

school was that it had Both Ways education. It was equally important to maintain and reinforce Aboriginal culture in the school and, at the same time, to build up students' knowledge of the outside, Western culture.

### **Northern Territory Site Three**

Situated in the northwest corner of Northern Territory, the last school researched in this study was also operated by the Catholic Church. As with NT Site Two, the school had recently been renamed with an Aboriginal name. Similar also to Site Two, Site Three was in transition from being an Aboriginal school administered and staffed by mostly non-Aboriginal people to being staffed predominantly by Aboriginal people from the local community.

Unlike the other study schools, there appeared no clear demarcation between the school and the surrounding community. The school sign consisted of a small sign on the road at the end of the school's long driveway with the word 'school' and a direction arrow. Large palm trees and shade trees grew about the school. Staff houses and village houses were so close to the school that it was difficult to determine the school's boundaries. Unlike the other schools, there were no murals or art of any kind painted on the outside or inside walls of the school. This was somewhat surprising given that the principal was a renowned artist. However, in spite of the lack of culturally significant art around the school, Aboriginal culture permeated the school.

Reminiscent of my first day at the first school I studied in British Columbia in which a wolf appeared on the school grounds, a large crocodile emerged from the river in front of this school and basked on the bank in the sun on the morning of my arrival. The principal, a former student at the school and well-respected community leader, was extremely busy during the week of my visit. Unfortunately, my visit coincided with the Community Council's annual inspection of all the houses in the community. As a member of Council, it was one of the principal's roles to participate in the housing inspection. Consequently, as the inspection was a time consuming affair, the principal was not at the school very much for the first two days of my time there. During that time, aside from visiting classrooms and speaking with other staff members, I spent time at the school sitting with a group of men carving didgeridoos by the riverbank. When they were not teaching art, carving, and culture to students, they carved to market their work. These men taught me the traditional way to cook goannas and flying foxes over an open fire. I learned, too, that since the big crocodile had arrived, several village dogs had disappeared.

Classes in the school were organised in a manner similar to that of NT Site One. Rather than grades, students were grouped according to their languages. There was a pre-school class, a transition class, and four language group classes reflecting the main languages in the area. Two of the classes consisted solely of students from those language groups. The other two classes were composite classes containing students from the other five languages in the area. Additionally, there was an upper post-primary class for the older students in the school. Although most teaching was done in English, teachers often explained classroom work to students in their own language to help them understand instructions. Older children had a sufficient understanding of spoken English, but not all of them spoke it fluently.

Coming from the area, the Aboriginal teachers taught in their own language groups. They also taught their own family members, as they were the students' mothers, aunts, or cousins.

All of the Aboriginal teachers in the school were enrolled in education courses delivered collaboratively by a university and a college. The principal, having been through a mentorship program herself, was a mentor to her teaching staff involved in the same mentorship program. One of the first qualified Aboriginal teachers in Australia, she taught in the school for a number of years before becoming the principal three years before the field research for this study was conducted. After three years of mentorship under the previous principal, a Catholic nun, she assumed the principalship.

Being a community leader, a principal, and a leader within the greater Aboriginal educational community across Australia, the demands on the principal's time were inordinate. Indeed, for the first days I was at the school while she was inspecting community houses, a constant stream of government and non-governmental officials from near and far were continually arriving to meet with her. When finally she was back in the school, continual telephone calls postponed and interrupted my time with her. In spite of the delays and interruptions, formal interviews with this principal eventually took place. In addition, an interview with the non-Aboriginal assistant principal was held to gather further information.

When describing the mentoring process which prepared her for the principalship, she commented on how the mentor, from the outset of the three-year program, gave her full decision-making responsibility. She spoke of how frightened she was of the responsibilities. Initially, she found it especially frightening when she had to "pull up" a white teacher.

I'm not afraid of the work anymore. It took me five years to get over that fear that I had in me of taking up the responsibility. It's a pressure position. And because you



have different people all the time coming and talking to you or on the phone or you've got to answer things if they write to you. You've got to attend meetings here or in the cities. Being away from your family and the people, the school, at different times. (Principal, NT Site Three)

Echoing other principals in this study, this principal felt that power was to be shared.

Power to me, well some people take it the wrong way. That if you have power that you keep it to yourself. You don't try to share any power with other people to be strong within themselves, to be confident, to look at people in the eye, to face people, to have people trust you. . . . In your teaching you have power. You're empowering other people. Whereas if you do it the other way, you're not empowering that other person. Power should be shared so that you can make that other person become strong within themselves as individuals. (Principal, NT Site Three)

Elders were recognised powerbrokers in this school community. Their power was paramount in traditional matters. The principal saw herself as a bridge between two cultures.

The elders, they are a powerful group of people in the community that have strong feelings talking about Aboriginal people. I think the elders are probably the first lot of people and me second, when you are talking about traditional things. I'm half and half. I can sit down and talk to you or I can sit here and talk to anyone and try and understand and be able to understand a lot of things that they're talking about. I can understand the way my people talk, too. So I'm like a bridge between two cultures. Whereas the elders they just know about rules and regulations that have to be done when it comes to making traditional decisions. We rely on them a lot to help us find ourselves as people, as individuals, as Aboriginal people. We have to become strong as Aboriginal people within ourselves. Otherwise, we won't be a whole person, you know. (Principal, NT Site Three)

As with the principals of the other indigenous schools researched in this study, this principal perceived more opportunities for leadership than constraints upon it. For her, leadership was a determined, goal-oriented behaviour. It must be exercised at a pace consistent with that of the people being led.

[Leadership is] about being determined, I suppose. To reach some sort of a goal and also to work at a slower pace with the people, you don't sort of drag them through a timeline or anything. You have to take a much slower pace. Probably six times slower than you travel if you were in the city sort of thing, you know. Just step by step sort of thing at a time when like it might take you one year to get to a certain thing. And at least that's some sort of achievement. (Principal, NT Site Three)

Expectations on this principal were many and various and came from every quarter. They began with demands on her for reassurance, answers, and follow-ups.

From teachers and people that have come in from outside the community and parents, the children make demands on me as well. Other people that work around here like cleaners, assistant teachers, and that and other people in the community. And Catholic

Education and the Department of Education and the various departments involved in services and other colleges, other schools and institutions. (Principal, NT Site Three)

Among the desired attributes of a principal for this school, the ability to cope with all the demands put on them from different people, and not buckle under the pressure, was crucial. Another was the capability to withstand family pressures, and not give in to them because they are family. Here she spoke of the emotional strain involved when obligations to family have to concede to professionalism. "It hurts. But, as educators we have to sacrifice some of those things to teach other people" (Principal, NT Site Three). She spoke of the stress involved in situations in which a balance had to be struck between respecting others and maintaining professional order in the school. This was particularly difficult given that the school "belonged" to the community and community members were encouraged to feel free to come and be with the kids whenever they wished.

With respect to suggesting one thing she would change in the school, the principal identified the constant demands of visitors to the school.

People coming and going at all times of the day. People from outside . . . like the departments have got to realise that I've got a job to do here as a principal and look after this school. I can't be, like, 24 hours wheeling and dealing with them. There's got to be a set time for them. Like, I might, I'm thinking of wanting to say that in the morning I'd like to have the time until lunch time just to be here for the teachers and the kids and the parents. (Principal, NT Site Three)

### **The Assistant Principal**

The assistant principal of the school, a non-Aboriginal who had been in the school for three years was also interviewed for his perceptions on leadership within the school.

Leadership here is being able to encourage people to fill certain duties, feel good about doing that, but without building the pressure to such an extent that they feel like you're watching them. So [the principal] tells people what her expectations are. "This is your job, da, da, da, da." But she won't be there supervising them or looking over their shoulder and it will only be then if sort of word filters back via a number of sources that somebody's not doing something that she'll then respond to that. And I think that's good leadership. Because the non-Aboriginal style of leadership, which is what the school had, is a very regimented, time-watch form of leadership. And that's very disempowering. (Assistant Principal, NT Site Three)

He articulated my observation that the school appeared to be the centre of the community and many non-school related activities occurred there.

The benefit of so many local people in the school is that the kids feel comfortable. Old people wander into the school. A lot of community business is done in the school.

And that's simply because there's not a whole lot of white fellas running around looking busy and turning everybody off. So people really do feel comfortable and that means then that a lot of cultural education goes on in a very informal way. (Assistant Principal, NT Site Three)

He also expressed what he perceived as an academic drawback to the school being so open to the community and outside demands. The school is continually interrupted by the constant flow of people from the community and outside coming to see the principal on all matters of business, usually unrelated to schooling. Then there is a regular influx of Aboriginal student teachers who come to train at the school for several months at a time. Conversely, there's the constant leave-taking of teachers at the school for additional teacher training. Cumulatively, they all take their toll on the quality of classroom time.

It was in this context that the assistant principal brought up the differences between his values and those of his Aboriginal colleagues.

While she [the principal] would say, quite openly, "I want these kids to get a really good education. There's no panic about that. Let's not get stressed out about it." So, if there's a good thing happening, if M.C. traps a crocodile because it's taking some dogs and needs to be trapped and taken up to town to the crocodile farm, and he drives past with it on the tray, she'll pull the whole school out and they can go and have a look at the crocodile. It doesn't matter what's being done in class, that's all right. Whereas, I'll get a little bit agitated and think well, there goes another morning. (Assistant Principal, NT Site Three)

He went on to describe other value differences between them.

[The principal] never rushes. I do. I try and slow down as much as I can. Westerners, I think, are very results oriented and so, you know, it's a normal question for us to say, what does a person do? So that's where our value system often lies. We fit people according to what they do and then slot them into whatever our world view of that is. My experience with Aboriginal people here is that you're slotted according to your family context and that then determines your, well, I don't know which one determines which, but your land, your dreamings, your country, your family are all, that's where you fit in. So she doesn't rush. (Assistant Principal, NT Site Three)

He spoke at length about the demands placed upon the principal.

Then you have a whole lot of visitors who want to see an Aboriginal community or have some connection or whatever and those people usually want to spend some time with [the principal] as well. Then you have the staff. Also, local people coming up and saying this is happening at home, somebody's fighting in such and such an area and [she] often gets involved or is asked to be involved in those sorts of things. You know, the local politics. If there's problems in the area, say with young fellas or something, people will be talking to [her] about it. Not for her to fix it. But for her to sort of organise for the old fellas to pull them together and get them to talk to those young fellas. So she has all of those roles which don't directly relate to kids being in

class learning. Those demands are there every day. . . . They don't often [relate to kids being in class] but they do in the sense that the school is part of the community and all of those things are part of living here. And so the school's not some sort of separate thing from what's going on. So the kids see that and the kids are very much aware of all of that. And in that sense I guess that's education. It does make it difficult. It places demands, a lot of demands on the teachers here. (Assistant Principal, NT Site Three)

### **Summary of Northern Territory Sites**

Major themes that emerged from the BC and NZ sites were also evident in NT sites. Aboriginal culture was showcased in each school. An explicit commitment to a Two-Way philosophy embracing both Aboriginal and Western values was common to all the study schools in NT. The principal was expected to direct and perform a considerable amount of the community work done by the school. The schools themselves were seen as belonging to the community in a very literal sense. As in BC and NZ, educating parents and Council members was a role imposed upon and assumed by the principal. Similar to the Maori concept of Whakapapa, the high value of relationships extended beyond the grave to include a knowledge of one's ancestors. Principals acknowledged the leadership of elders in each school community and relied on their traditional knowledge and influence in resolving conflicts. Power for NT principals was understood to be shared and group leadership models were either operating or plans for them being discussed.

## **Summary and Conclusions**

In this chapter, the settings from which data were collected were revealed with brief sketches. The chapter began with profiles of the schools and then of the principals. Following these was a succinct presentation of principals' descriptions of their schools. The chapter continued with a description of each research site. Numerous responses to interview questions from major participants were selected and included. Thus, their opinions and perspectives about their schools and educative leadership within them were presented.

In the next chapter I shall discuss in greater detail the nature of the leadership services provided in each setting. Patterns and common constructs will be searched for and generalised across national and international sites to determine those attributes of leadership shared among culturally and geographically disparate indigenous school communities.

## **CHAPTER SIX**

### **ANALYSIS AND SYNTHESIS**

**“Effectiveness for what, leadership towards what, change to what good purpose, and implementation of whose values, and with what justification?”**

**Greenfield, 1993b**

#### **Introduction**

One of the goals to be achieved by this study is the articulation of theories of administration in use in selected indigenous schools in British Columbia, New Zealand, and Northern Territory. That goal is further approached in this chapter. Data gathered during the field research is analysed and synthesised to more thoroughly unveil the nature of the leadership services provided in each setting. Attributes of leadership and expectations of leaders shared across culturally and geographically disparate indigenous school communities are identified. The deeper significance of descriptions of events and comments made by participants, some of which were presented in Chapter Five, will be discussed and their meanings elucidated. Links are made between constructs emerging from the field research and the literature to increase the validity and generalisability of the findings. Iterative procedures, shifting between the data and emergent constructs previously identified in the literature, induce from the data common patterns across national and international sites. The work of Hodgkinson (1978, 1983, 1991, & 1996) is drawn upon to analyse the dominant values at play in each school community, and the values that principals used to justify their actions. The degree of touchstone between them is thereby determined. Throughout the following analysis of actions, utterances, and events is a guiding assumption that none of them happened randomly. Rather, assuming that there is a reason behind everything and everything has meaning, particular questions were asked.

What does it mean to the participants in this study to be educative leaders in their school communities? Given what participants have said in two interviews, how do they make sense of their work as educative leaders? Do commonalities of meanings, purposes, and values exist across cultural contexts? To answer these questions, meanings behind the actions and events observed at each of the sites had to be interpolated. Then categories and constructs were aggregated to determine the extent to which there were patterns across cultures.

Within-case and across-case analysis entails two levels of understanding: description and explanation (Huberman & Miles, 1994). Description, largely the task of the previous chapter, presented a picture of each site and a brief glimpse of what was happening and how things worked. A task of this chapter is to address the next level of understanding and provide an explanation of why certain things happened at each site. Each site is revisited and explanations are offered as required to enhance the understanding of events and comments presented in Chapter Five. Constructs, major themes, and values are identified from each site and aggregated at the conclusion of each international section. However, before similar constructs and themes between these diverse sites are extrapolated, some of the historical, contextual, and epistemological similarities discussed earlier are revisited.

### **Historical, Political, Contextual, and Epistemological Similarities**

Similarities across these indigenous populations with respect to colonial and neo-colonial relationships, educational success, population demographics, and epistemologies were outlined in Chapters Two and Three. Historically, the colonial relationships between Europeans and the indigenous peoples of Canada, Australia, and New Zealand were much the same, and often depressingly so. Comparable, overlapping policy periods reflecting ideologies of annihilation, assimilation, integration, and self-determination were common to each.

Educationally, the success rates of indigenous students in each national forum approximate the inverse of non-indigenous students. The education crisis shared among indigenous peoples is amplified when considered in light of their equally rapid-growing populations.

Indigenous world views and the epistemologies conveyed within them are strikingly similar. Fundamentally holistic, indigenous epistemologies share an emphasis on a spiritual, interdependent, interactional way of knowing and being in the universe. Stemming from shared epistemological elements are analogous ways of learning and teaching. Aspects of approaches to leadership, management, and school organisation were also shown to be shared across indigenous contexts. Such similarities with each other are as consistent as are their differences between non-indigenous ways of learning and teaching.

### **Theoretical and Conceptual Frameworks**

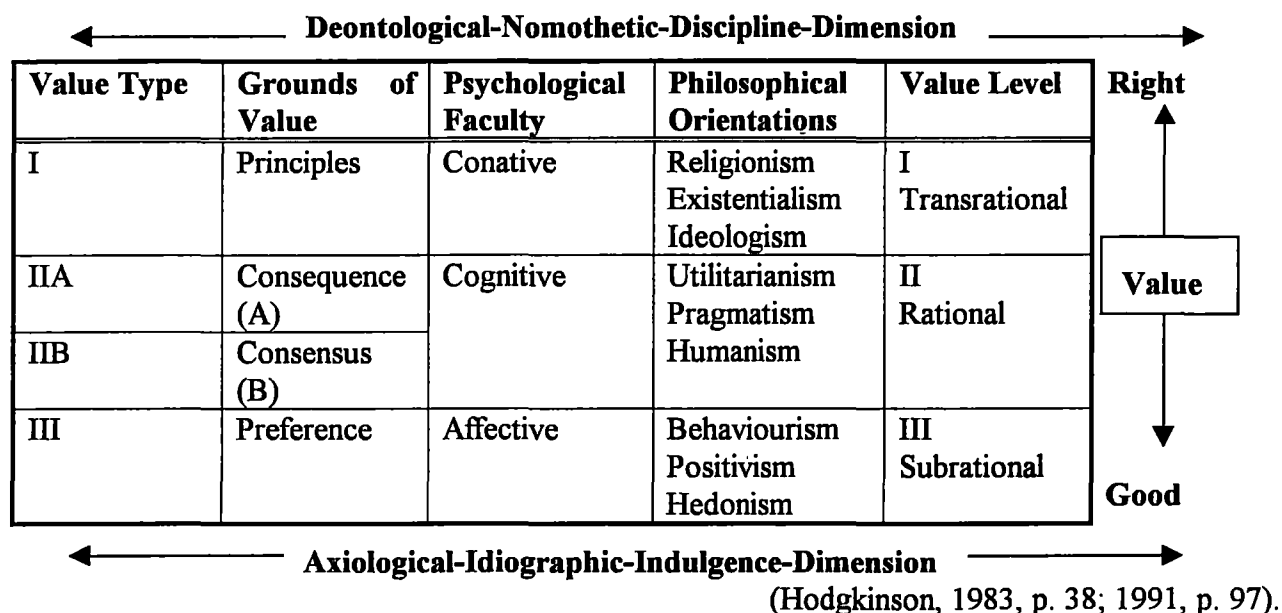
Following the advice of Glaser and Strauss (1967) regarding the generation of theory from the analysis of data, I initiated a systematic search for important categories relevant to educative

leadership in indigenous schools. The investigation began with literature searches in the areas of: Educational Administration; educational leadership; organisational analysis; indigenous worldviews and epistemologies; and teaching, learning, and organising in indigenous educational environments. Purposes, values, roles, actions, community, metaphors, expectations, and notions of power were recurrent themes throughout the literature. These themes served to guide the research in its initial phase. The additional themes of culture, relationships, celebrations, and rituals, leadership scope and context, and indigenous ways of teaching, learning, organising, and decision making were added as they emerged from the field research. To assist with interpreting the meanings these themes held and their implications for principals in indigenous schools, I modified Silverman's (1983) process of action analysis. Used also by Macpherson (1984) for similar purposes, the six inter-related areas of Silverman's path of action analysis were described in Chapter Four. Simply restated, the path of action analysis helped ascertain the principals' perceptions of their administrative contexts, their roles, and the perceived priorities, implications, and consequences of their actions.

### **Analysis of Values**

Listing the common constructs, categories, and major themes that emerged from the research did not provide an adequately thorough understanding of educative leadership in indigenous schools. Asking 'what is the nature of valued leadership services in indigenous schools?' begged the question as to what is valued. Concerned with doing the right things, educative leadership is therefore leadership that is justifiable according to some moral code. Understanding the nature of educative leadership entails understanding the ethical justification of administrative actions. For the purposes of this study it is important to understand the similarities and differences between sites and between countries as to how and upon what values educative leaders justified their actions. Hodgkinson's (1978, 1983, 1991, & 1996) work on value analysis provided a way of classifying justifications for action.

A summary of Hodgkinson's contribution was presented in Chapter Three. A diagram of his value paradigm will be presented again below.

**Figure 6.1 - The Value Paradigm**

In the summary section of each international setting the value paradigm above is used as a template to classify and display the predominant values used to justify purposes and actions in each setting.

## British Columbia Schools

### British Columbia - Site One

There was a general tenor of understatement in the comments of the soft-spoken, easy-going principal of BC Site One. This quality was not solely a tendency towards succinctness. It also alluded to actions and their underlying assumptions operating below his level of conscious awareness. Cultural assumptions are generally so taken for granted by participants that they are usually not consciously aware of them (Owens & Steinhoff, 1989). This principal was a case in point. When asked about the extent of his power and influence, he responded, "I really don't know. I just do it. Maybe that's the key. I don't know" (Principal, BC Site One).

Not knowing and just doing may have been the key to his success. However, as a researcher seeking to understand the organisational culture of his school community and the nature of educative leadership therein, it was imperative that I uncover his unspoken assumptions and probe beneath the tacit dimension of his knowledge (Polanyi, 1967). Clearly, this was a successful principal. His theories of action (Argyris & Schön, 1974) were effective. He knew what worked



but was unable to explain it. It was required then, for me to get beneath the meanings of his words and actions.

In response to the first question of Interview Schedule One in which I asked the principal to talk about himself, he began by describing his family. He ended his first response with a reference to his enjoyment of harvesting and preparing seafood as a family. “We work as a family group under mom’s direction” (Principal, BC Site One). This comment may carry more meaning than it appears. Here, some notes on the social structure may be useful.

Immediately following the above comment the principal added, “We’re a matrilineal society and so all our heritage, title and the names, berry patches, fishing rights, trap lines, is all handed down through the mother’s side of the family” (Principal, BC Site One). The principal had a “real name” that he inherited from one of his maternal uncles. Ownership of a traditional name continues to be, near the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, very important. Signifying a personal relationship with his ancestors and his culture, a traditional name is imbued with spiritual significance. In this culture, an elaborate ceremony and feast must accompany the giving of name in order for it to be valid. Clearly, the importance of a traditional name and the ritualistic manner in which it is given are evidence that it is valued at a higher level of justification than utilitarianism (Hodgkinson, 1983). Indeed, the spiritual dimension of a traditional name justifies it on the highest grounds of value.

The principal continued the first interview providing personal information by describing the clan system and how it operated traditionally and presently. There were four clans. Each clan had the name of a local bird or animal. He described his clan, his position in it, and the rights and responsibilities that came with clan membership. He explicitly stated his pride in his culture. Thus, this principal effectively introduced himself in the local social context. In telling me his “real name” he was describing himself in relation to his ancestors through his mother’s lineage. Furthermore, as territorial land and water rights are determined by clan membership, by simply telling me the name of his clan he was also delineating his relationship with the land and sea.

Hence, the categories of ‘family’ and ‘culture’ emerged in the first few minutes of interviewing. The importance of ‘relationships’ with other members of the community, with places, and with nature also emerged. The pictures of elders and clan representations on the walls were reminders of cultural and personal identity and also symbolised the continuity between past and present.

'Culture' emerged as a prominent meta-value beyond dispute or contention (Hodgkinson, 1983). It was also a meta-construct that embodied some constructs and shaped others. Descriptions of familial and clan relationships were all defined within the social structure of the local culture. Teaching the local language was considered imperative for the health and sustainability of the culture. "People are aware that we have to do it; teach the language. . . . You can't separate language from culture" (Principal, BC Site One). When discussing the context of the school and some of the influences felt in the school, he was quick to state "culture will be the main one" (Principal, BC Site One). In fact, no other influences were mentioned. Brief descriptors of the school, laden with metaphors, offered by staff such as "fun and culture" and "a microcosm," reinforced his comments.

Celebrations, common in the community, were also embraced whenever the opportunity arose in the school. As with many First Nations cultures, special occasions and seasonal demarcations of the cycle of food harvesting throughout the year are accompanied by elaborate ceremonies. The principal acknowledged that he celebrated all events with what he referred to as "a bit extra."

In his encouragement of and participation in celebrations and rituals in the school, the principal was, in Bates' (1982) view, managing an important element in the maintenance of order. Bates suggested that rituals celebrate both unifying and differentiating features in the social structure of the school. From what I observed, in the limited time I was there, rituals, such as setting up and decorating a tree for the Easter Bunny and engendering school-wide involvement surrounding a wolf's visit, served to unite members of the school and celebrate the relationships they shared. Outside of the school, specifically at the totem pole raising ceremony in the port town that serviced the central coast, the ceremony served to unite all First Nations people in the area. The pole raising also poignantly differentiated features of First Nations culture from non-First Nations cultures.

For several hours I stood in the blowing rain, with the temperature just above freezing, as I watched the eight metre tall pole being slowly carried several hundred metres, amid chanting and dancing, and then raised with ropes by the combined efforts of many hands. An enormous wheeled crane, parked nearby, could have carried and put the pole in place in a matter of minutes. The crane and the three unionised men that stood with it waited in case they were needed. The juxtaposition of the huge yellow crane and its single operator sheltering himself in its cab from the

elements, beside hundreds of people pulling together in the rain spoke volumes about the differentiation between First Nations and non-First Nations cultures.

The pole raising ceremony reinforced the values of the group. It reiterated their culture and its values. The ceremony celebrated collectivism and expressed the value of tradition and local culture. The yellow crane signified individualism, efficiency, and expedience. The pole was raised by the combined, cooperative efforts of the group working together. Men and women had separate roles. The men carried. The women sang and danced. A shaman cloaked in a wolf skin, complete with the head, enhanced the spiritual component of a highly ritualised ceremony.

I was a guest at the ceremony, invited by the principal of the school I was studying. The ceremony provided me with insights into the culture. Clearly, that was the reason I was invited. The school nurtured the same values that the ceremony projected. In this way the school played its vital role of cultural reproduction.

The principal described himself in leadership terms as the person who initiated programs and change within the school. I felt it noteworthy that when discussing his negotiations with the Department of Indian Affairs, the School District, and the Ministry of Education that he used terms such as “fought,” “fighting for,” and “agitate.” Contrasting sharply with his gentle demeanour, his choice of words drew my attention in a manner similar to Strauss and Corbin’s (1990) notion of waving the red flag and signaled that closer investigation was merited. Such language has aggressive, combative connotations over and above the give and take involved in negotiating. Gentle though he appeared, this principal may have perceived himself as more of a warrior for his beliefs than as a compromising negotiator. Thus, he justified his actions on grounds of value above rational consequence and more in the domain of principles (Hodgkinson, 1991).

His language also had aggressive connotations when describing his role as negotiator with organisations outside of the school. However, he described his overall role as educative leader within the school in less aggressive language. Connoting the cooperative ethos that underpinned the culture, he described the staff as a team. The practice of having a rotating chair at staff meetings supported the notion of a team; a group of professionals collaborating, each member taking on a leadership role. He referred to himself once as a manager and several times as a coach. Most frequently he said, “I encourage.” Here again, the ‘team’ metaphor was consistent with the cooperative orientation of First Nations social organisation (McCue, 1990).

As in most isolated First Nations schools, staff turnover was high and usually teachers were young and inexperienced. Interestingly, he expressed a preference for inexperienced teachers over experienced ones. Given his years of experience and knowledge of what was needed in the school and expected of teachers, I assumed that he preferred inexperienced teachers so that he could train them to suit the needs of the school. My assumption was incorrect. He was quick to point out “I don’t really say that I trained them. They come with their ability and their styles and I encourage” (Principal, BC Site One). The tendency toward non-directive encouragement over giving detailed directions in First Nations organisations is also supported in the literature (McCue, 1990). He acknowledged the expertise of his staff in certain areas and he encouraged them to take responsibility for their areas of expertise.

Individuals assuming leadership roles in specific areas has been shown to be common in First Nations societies (Barnhardt & Harrison, 1993; Friesen, 1997). A colloquial expression of North America colonialists that there were ‘too many chiefs and not enough Indians,’ most likely resulted from the notion of context-specific leadership among First Nations peoples.

### **British Columbia - Site Two**

The process of comparing and contrasting Site One and Site Two in BC brought forth some fundamental similarities and some consequential differences. Their similarities largely came to light through their differences. The first difference of consequence was the cultural orientation of the principals.

The principal of Site One was a First Nations man, born in the community, a hereditary chief who had learned English as a second language, and who had been principal of the school for 29 years. He largely took for granted the cultural norms, and the values and assumptions they were based upon. As most people do normally, he operated largely unaware of his own culture (Hallinger, 1995). In contrast, the principal of Site Two was a non-First Nations man who had been at the school for three years. He too had a tacit understanding of his own culture and equally took for granted its underlying assumptions. However, shifting from one culture to another caused him to switch one cultural lens with another. As is often the case, he became more aware of his own culture and aspects of its assumptive base when he stepped out of it into another. Now that he was operating in a different cultural milieu, he retrospectively questioned the practices and assumptions of the previous schools in which he worked. Thus, he was able to develop a

conceptual framework for understanding the broader issues of equity and educational purpose (Hughes, 1990) that went beyond an overriding concern with immediate and practical matters.

The principal of BC Site Two wasted little time in unmasking the assumptions that underpinned the purposes of education. A reflective practitioner, with many years of administrative practice to look back upon, he was unequivocal in his statement that the purpose of school, in its broadest sense, is to perpetuate the culture. His observation has been reiterated in philosophical discussions on education (Hodgkinson, 1991) and is often repeated in the literature concerning indigenous education (Harker & McConnochie, 1985; Harris, 1990). Accepting that cultural transmission and maintenance is a purpose of schooling, the challenge facing this principal and essentially every other principal of an indigenous school, is the perpetuation of two cultures: the indigenous culture and the dominant culture.

The principal felt that the challenge of perpetuating two cultures in this school was compounded when considered in light of more than two hundred years of contact between First Nations and non-First Nations cultures. Characterised by cultural domination, such contact had induced accelerated and dramatic changes to the local culture. Given these changes, the local culture appeared unclear in many aspects. The principal found it difficult to determine whether some aspects of the culture had been handed down through many generations or from just 50 or 60 years ago. He compared the relative ease of imparting a knowledge of Western culture that had been recorded for the past two thousand years with doing the same for an oral culture recorded in the memories of elders.

Developing a clear picture of an undiluted culture under such circumstances is extremely difficult. However, there are other ways, perhaps more educationally fruitful, to consider culture and culture change without depending on the notion of cultural purity. Like many, this principal probably had a tendency to view culture as a fairly static entity. Such a view of culture is misleading. Cultures are continually evolving.

Drawing on evidence gathered by other anthropologists, Malinowski (1961) concluded that when two cultures come together a third cultural reality is produced. It is this third, emergent cultural reality that lies at the root of the consternation of those who understand cultures as being fixed.

One way to describe aspects of the emergent cultural reality in indigenous contexts was that given by Ogbu (1987). He described indigenous minorities as being involuntary in the sense that they did not volunteer to be colonised and dominated by an incoming society. Differences existed

between the two cultures before they came in contact with each other. Ogbu referred to these differences as primary cultural differences. Thus, two hundred years ago the primary cultural differences between First Nations and non-First Nations peoples would have been much clearer than at present. However, Ogbu suggested that, after such prolonged contact, particularly when the involuntary minority has been participating in a social institution controlled by the dominant group, secondary cultural differences develop “as a response to a contact situation” (p. 322).

Taking into consideration Malinowski’s (1961) notion of emergent cultural reality and Ogbu’s (1987) concept of secondary cultural differences, determining aspects of indigenous cultural purity 200 years after contact is extremely difficult. The principal of BC Site Two was acutely aware of the difficulty and the impact of time and contact on the local culture. He asked, “what was the culture and at what point in time are we talking about that culture?” He struggled to differentiate between the culture before contact, the emergent culture, and primary and secondary cultural differences.

Clearly, cultures evolve over time and through contact with other cultures. Schools can shape the way they evolve. Stairs (1994) went beyond acknowledging that schools are cultural phenomenon that play an important role in cultural transmission. She argued that indigenous schools can be “critical sites for and agents of negotiation among cultures in contact, not merely transmitters of the means for success in a dominant culture” (p. 155). Her model of cultural negotiation was posited as an optimistic alternative to assimilation and cultural annihilation.

A cultural negotiation perspective redefines education as “culture-in-the-making” at multiple levels. School becomes a forum for negotiation among surrounding cultures, between itself and the community, and in the personal negotiations of students with their cultural worlds, including the school culture, as they construct and reconstruct identity. (Stairs, p. 156)

Without referring to a notion of ‘cultural negotiation,’ the principal of BC Site Two was purposefully doing exactly that. As principal of the school he acted as the head cultural negotiator for both cultures.

Charged with perpetuating two cultures within the school, he viewed his role context as one of being an educator and educative leader both within and beyond the school. Establishing direction and facilitating educational, social, and economic development across the whole community were included in his priorities of leadership activity. His role encompassed educating parents, members of the Education Council, school maintenance people, supporting community ventures, and liaising with private industry. Abundant, minimally constrained opportunities for

leadership, traversing rational and transrational levels of value (Hodgkinson, 1991), were bestowed upon him and supported by all stakeholders. His roles shifted between two levels of value. On one level he tended to pragmatic matters with discernable outcomes. At a higher level of value he addressed ideological issues that although immeasurable, counted considerably.

### **British Columbia - Site Three**

As mentioned earlier, two principals were interviewed from Site Three. The principal with whom I had negotiated access to the school over the previous year had been at the school for four years. At the time of the field research he was on study leave. Referred to as Principal Two, he was interviewed after my study visit to Site Three.

#### **Principal One, British Columbia Site Three**

The non-indigenous principal at this school had never been immersed in a First Nations community until four months earlier when he accepted his first principalship at Site Three. Notwithstanding such limited experience in comparison to that of the previous two principals interviewed, his comments and observations shared numerous similarities. The recurrent themes of culture, family, fairness, opportunities for leadership, permeable boundary between school and community, educative roles beyond the school, and school as cultural showcase emerged repeatedly throughout interviews and discussions with this principal.

As in BC Site One, ceremony and ritual were used to reiterate the local culture. In this instance the principal was not the manager or initiator of ritual. Instead, school/community leaders used ritual as a means of inducting the principal into the community. During my discussions with the principal he referred at least four times to an elaborate welcoming ceremony held for him shortly after he arrived. The highlight of the two-hour ceremony was mask dancing. A member of the community explained to the principal what the dances meant as they were taking place. The meanings of the dances were apparently too important for him to miss.

He described a dance involving two eagles. One of the eagles rejected the other because it had previously left its nest. The message here was clear. Members of the community are to remain in the community. Leaving the community may entail rejection should one wish to return. Thus, loyalty to the community was one of the values reiterated by the mask dances. The school was built by and for the people of the community so that their children could remain in the community, the nest, and would not have to leave for schooling.

Analogously, as the dances reiterated the values of the community, they also emphatically differentiated, for the principal, the local culture from the principal's culture. When describing the dances he repeated that he was from a different culture. He qualified there was more to the local culture than the mask dance and conceded that much of it was hidden from him. As an outsider, he was lacking tacit knowledge of the local culture. Had the meanings of the dances not been described to him, he may have missed them.

Stressing the importance of the mask dances, he compared them to our religions in the white society. Here, in alluding to the mask dances as being like a religion, the principal was acknowledging that the dance was justified on the highest grounds of value. According to Hodgkinson (1983 & 1991) religions appeal to transrational values; beyond rationality.

The act of reiterating community cultural values in the school also served to signify, to the incoming principal, the school as a site of cultural reproduction. In his short time at the school, the principal was acutely aware of the layers of ideological purpose imparted by the school.

He introduced the context of his role in familial terms. He perceived himself to be a fair, father figure that provided leadership and knowledge to all members of the greater school community. Respect for family and the importance of familial relationships within the school community were also recognised and evident in the school.

He was somewhat overwhelmed by the opportunities he was given to exercise his leadership. He drew the analogy of the captain of a multi-million dollar ship, given full authorisation with respect to safely navigating the ship and its cargo through rough waters and back into port for a refit. Although he recognised the power of his position, the Education Council held ultimate power over the school. The Council hired him to captain the ship and gave him a "limited" amount of money to run it.

Prior to his involvement in education, this principal had spent 14 years in the Canadian Armed Forces. His comments on power and authority reflected both his years of experience in a large, bureaucratic organisation and his astute insight into the need to be sensitive about exercising power in the school.

You have to be careful with power here. The power over the whole thing is the Band Council, it's actually the [First] Nation. The chief can't do anything himself anyway. Council can't do anything. It all has to be voted on by all of the [First] Nation.  
(Principal One, BC Site Three)

He was uncomfortable with the notion of exercising his power. Instead, reflecting his military background, he explicitly preferred decision making within a line of authority. The exercise of



power may or may not be legitimate, that is, sanctioned within the organisation. Authority, as legitimised power (Hodgkinson, 1996), is sanctioned by organisational purpose and organisational members and is distributed accordingly within organisations. Hence, authority, more so than power, can be more easily accommodated at the rational level of value and is grounded more on consequence and consensus within legitimising bureaucratic structures. However, exercising authority as a bureaucratic activity can be hazardous in contexts where bureaucratic forms are not valued.

Several participants in this study identified school/community members who had considerable power and extensive influence within the school community, yet they had very little legitimised authority from either the school or the wider education system. Conversely, school/community members were identified who had designated authority but little power or influence. Being sensitive to the limits of authority and aware of the sources of power in a school community appear to be issues of critical importance to educative leaders of indigenous schools.

### **Principal Two, British Columbia Site Three**

Comparing and contrasting the perceptions of this principal with the principal who took his place while he was on study leave was an illuminating process. Like the first two principals interviewed, he was also an experienced principal. His experiences included the principalship of both First Nations and non-First Nations schools. His reflections on the schooling of First Nations peoples were informed by his varied experience and his apparent familiarity with the literature.

The principal regarded the school as an extension of the community. Allegiance to community values was a priority for any successful candidate for the principalship. “Whatever this leadership business is, it has to be in step with what the community wants” (Principal Two, Site Three). He qualified that a mode of operation that worked well in one school might not work in another. Clearly, his observations hold true in all school communities and are supported by recent research of exemplary schools across Canada (Gaskell, 1995). Disparities between different communities’ expectations of what education should be were given as the reason. Given that community expectations were not concisely articulated to the principal, he was required to be acutely sensitive to them. Being of First Nations heritage, he felt that he may have been more aware of cultural nuances and community expectations than a non-First Nations principal.

According to this principal and the majority of principals and school stakeholders interviewed in this study, loyalty to the community was more important than loyalty to the

bureaucracy. His devaluation of the bureaucratic model of organisation contrasted sharply with the position of Principal One of the same school. Whereas Principal One argued for the benefits of rational bureaucratic organisation, this principal argued against. Further, he suggested that people who do well in First Nations schools are generally subversive. Similar notions have been posited in the literature. Ogbu (1987) referred to cultural inversion as the tendency for members of involuntary minorities to regard certain forms of behaviours as not appropriate for them because they are characteristic of members of the dominant population. In response, the minorities adopt opposite forms of behaviours (p. 323).

Reminiscent of views expressed in the literature (Christie, 1987; Harris, 1980 & 1990; Hughes, 1987; Ermine, 1995), this principal perceived the Eurocentric education system to be incompatible with the local culture. Such was the extent of the incompatibility that his vision for the school necessitated it to be completely severed from the present system of provincial education.

His views on power and authority also had some interesting points of comparison and contrast with those of Principal One at Site Three. Phenomenologically, his experiences of both as a First Nations man in Canada were in stark contrast to the experiences of a White Canadian man with a former career in the military.

Although largely divergent, these two principals shared similar perspectives on several aspects of leadership within the school community. One was that the Education Council held the most power. Two, that the principal had considerable power also. Reflective of their professional experiences and of their experiences as members of dominant and subordinate groups in Canadian society, their views then diverged. Principal One equated the exercise of power with anarchy. He preferred the rational exercise of authority. Principal Two cautioned the exercise of power or authority by a principal in a First Nations school. He was sensitive to the reality that First Nations people have been denied power in education since contact. Therefore, power was very important to them. He alluded to “the enemy issue” when he spoke of principals exercising power. He referred to Wolcott’s (1974) *The Teacher as an Enemy* which explored a strategy of regarding the teacher as a cultural enemy in the context of formal education in antagonistic cross-cultural settings.

Some time after I had completed the field research for this study the Education Council removed Principal One from the school three months into the next school year. This brought to

mind Principal Two's warning that a principal would not last very long in a First Nations school unless he was extremely cautious about exercising authority.

### **British Columbia - Site Four**

Key themes identified in the first three sites were also found in Site Four. The meta-value of the local culture was predominant. The importance of traditional values and family relationships, the Education Council as preeminent power broker, and sensitivity to and understanding of the local community and First Nations people as desired attributes of an educative leader emerged from the field research.

The ideological purpose of revitalising the culture was the main purpose of the school and a priority of the principal. Locating the school within the community to keep the children there and the delivery of a culture program were two explicit ways in which this purpose was realised. Born in the community and raised by his grandparents until he was "taken away" to a residential school, the principal was passionate about his leadership role in the development of a culture program that would save the local language.

Interviewing this principal I became aware that the interviews were proceeding through Spradley's (1979) four stages of the rapport process of an ethnographic interview. Initially the principal appeared apprehensive. That apprehension then gave way to exploration, cooperation, and participation. The exploration phase was particularly illuminating. In the first interview the principal described his personal life. In the next interview he spoke with almost missionary zeal of his drive to do what needed to be done in the school. Clearly embedded on a foundation of Type I values (Hodgkinson, 1991), his commitment to his work as principal transcended the reasonable expectation of a principal's salary for doing a principal's job. He had not had an increase in salary since assuming the principalship. His salary remained at the same scale as it was when he became a Physical Education teacher at the school nine years earlier.

Reflecting his considerable tacit knowledge (Polanyi, 1967) of the job, he said he knew what had to be done. However, he added that he did not know how he arrived at that knowledge and could not really explain it. The difficulty in making tacit knowledge explicit has been referred to earlier in this study. The phenomenon of knowing what to do, but being unable to explain it, was also manifested by the principal of BC Site One and has been documented in the literature in studies of principals (Blumberg & Greenfield, 1980).

Here the exploration phase of the interview began with him using the interview to arrive at a deeper understanding of his own knowledge. He asked me questions as to how he knew what to do and how to act when those around him did not, when he had never been taught. In response, I repeated to him information that he had divulged in the previous interview. Specifically, it had not occurred to him that much of his cultural knowledge was gained from his grandparents with whom he lived for his first six years. He had told me that he had learned the language, the way to behave, and the stories just by living with his grandparents. He was not aware, until the interview, that he had learned these things from them. Through the interview he had come to the understanding that the most important things he knew were passed on to him “almost by osmosis” from his grandparents. The cultural knowledge gained from them he considered to be his greatest asset for the principalship of the school.

### **Summary of British Columbia Sites**

When aggregated, constructs and categories that emerged from the data crystallised into a distinct pattern of common themes and values found at each of the four First Nations schools studied in BC. The high value placed on the local culture was an overarching theme across all sites. Aspects of the local culture permeated each school. Cultural norms and traditions influenced decision-making, relationships, and virtually all school operations. Maintaining and promoting the local culture were priorities for each of the principals. Common themes found across BC sites are described in Table 6.1 below.

**Table 6.1 - Common Themes Found at British Columbia Schools**

<b>Theme</b>	<b>Evidence</b>
Culture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Importance of the local First Nations culture permeated the school community</li> <li>• Importance of pride in the local culture</li> <li>• School as a showcase of the local culture</li> </ul>
Purpose	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Dual purpose of the school to promote two cultures</li> </ul>
Indigenous ways of teaching, learning, organising, and decision making	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Highly participative, consensual decision making</li> <li>• Use of elders in the school</li> </ul>
Roles of the educative leader	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Educative leadership roles extend throughout the community and include educating parents, Education Council, and community members</li> <li>• A liaison between two cultures</li> </ul>
Expectations/ attributes of an educative leader	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sensitivity to, knowledge of and respect for the local culture as prerequisites for the effectiveness and the success of the principal</li> <li>• Flexibility as an attribute for the principalship</li> </ul>
Educative leadership scope and context	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Extensive opportunities for educative leadership across the entire school community</li> <li>• Few restraints on leadership</li> <li>• Leadership by example and encouragement</li> </ul>
Community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Permeable boundaries between the school and community</li> <li>• Sense of community ownership of the school</li> <li>• Community involvement in school-based decision making</li> </ul>
Relationships	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Importance of relationships: familial relationships both past and present and relationships with places and nature</li> </ul>
Celebrations, ceremonies, and rituals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Extensive use of celebrations, ceremonies, and rituals to reinforce and validate local cultural norms and values</li> </ul>
Power and authority	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Cautious use of power and authority by the principal</li> <li>• The principal is not the main powerbroker</li> <li>• Parents and Education Council as powerbrokers</li> </ul>

Having discerned these common themes, it is now appropriate to explore and analyse the values associated with them.

### **Analysis of Purposes, Values, and Actions at British Columbia Sites**

All organisations exist to achieve purposes (Hodgkinson, 1991). The purposes of educational organisations are complex, confusing, and sometimes contradictory. Therefore, it is important that educative leaders are as clear as possible about the purposes of their organisations. This section of the study, and corresponding sections for NZ and NT, drew extensively on Hodgkinson's (1978, 1983, 1991, & 1996) work on value analysis in an endeavour to increase the awareness of the purposes of education and the actions of educative leaders in indigenous schools.

The roles, expectations, and actions of the educative leaders studied were shaped by the purposes of their organisations. The evidence gathered in this study indicated that each BC school shared the common purpose of maintaining and reconstructing both the culture of the local First Nations community and the culture of the wider society. It was fruitful to more fully articulate the purposes of these schools and the values that sustain them to ascertain common patterns across international contexts. Hodgkinson's value model was used, with his endorsement (C. Hodgkinson, personal communication, August 1, 1998), to facilitate an analysis of the values underlying the purposes of the schools and the actions of their educative leaders in each international setting. The analysis of purposes and actions began with a consideration of the perceived purposes of First Nations schools.

Hodgkinson (1991) defined educational leadership as "everything that seeks to accomplish educational projects" (p. 17). Hence, the actions of educative leaders are justified according to the purposes of their educational organisations. Hodgkinson (1991 & 1993) delineated three strands of purposes of education: aesthetic, economic, and ideological. Interview data were used to attach the perceived purposes of each study school with one of these dimensions. Such an exercise is of benefit to anyone wishing to enhance their awareness of the purposes that underlie their organisations.

Aesthetic education emphasises self-fulfillment and enjoyment of life. The curriculum coheres with liberal arts and humanities and may include literacy, numeracy, sports, entertainment, and content germane to adult education. Economic education is driven by monetary outcomes. It encompasses all vocational education or training. Curriculum for this strand is all-inclusive. Educational success at every level through university or technical college is a prerequisite for entrance into the professions and the attainment of economic success. The ideological strand embraces those purposes of education that serve to transmit the cultural values of society. Ideological education can be described as in-group indoctrination. Perpetuating nationalism, propagating some sort of religionism, inculcating citizenship ideals and morality are some of the foci of this strand. Although discernable, these three purposes are rarely singularly distinct and are usually inextricably intertwined. Table 6.2 provides an approximate illustration of the extent to which principals' perceived purposes of their schools cohere with the three purposes of education.

**Table 6.2 - Purposes of Education at British Columbia Schools**

	<b>Aesthetic</b>	<b>Economic</b>	<b>Ideological</b>
<b>Grounds of Value Justification</b>	<b>Largely Type III values: preference, affective Some Type I values: existential, transrational</b>	<b>Type II values: utilitarian, rational</b>	<b>Type I values: ideological, transrational</b>
<b>Principal 1</b>	To dream and then have the confidence to pursue those dreams. Above all I want them to be happy.	To be prepared for this rapidly changing world, especially in the fields of Science and Technology, and to be the kinds of people who can adapt to it.	To become contributing members to society in general and to our community in particular. To learn about our culture and other cultures.
<b>Principal 2</b>	Allow each individual to be the best they can be to help them achieve happiness.		You have two cultures to perpetuate with the children.
<b>Principal 3</b>	Secondarily, they want their children to get an education.	They want them to go on and be successful.	Primarily, they want this school to be all [First Nations] people. It's not just a matter of getting an education, it's being educated in the culture. The only reason they're sending them here is because they get their culture here.
<b>Principal 4</b>	The focus is more on the personal well-being of the kids.	To equip the kids academically so that doors are open for them when they leave the school.	Making the school a place where culture is in the front as well. So I guess basically it's sort of respect for achieving academic goals and cultural self-fulfillment.
<b>Principal 5</b>			It has to do with revitalising our culture. It has to do with our kids just being at home where they could be educated in their own community and at the same time being delivered quality education.

The values used to justify the actions of principals, generally consistent with the perceived purposes of the schools, are also classified according to Hodgkinson's (1983 & 1991) value paradigm and are illustrated by Table 6.3. This table contains comments that principals made describing their roles, expectations of them as educative leaders, and desired attributes of prospective leaders of their schools. It is important to note that this classification schema is an

approximation only. In each case the evidence shown below was not the only evidence with that value justification. Rather, the evidence presented here is representative of each principal's predisposition to justify his actions on a particular level of value.

**Table 6.3 - Value Justification for Action at British Columbia Schools**

	Good Type III Values: Preference, Affective, Subrational	Type IIb Values: Consensus	Type IIa Values: Consequences	Right Type I Values: Principles, Conation, Transrational
		Cognitive, Rational		
	Evidence			
Principal 1	Wanting kids to be happy. Caring, liking kids.		Flexibility. Knowing stories so you don't bring shame.	Attention to culture. Attention to ceremonies. Respect for tradition.
Principal 2	Helping kids achieve happiness.		Educating parents and community members.	Perpetuate two cultures. Establishing direction. Inculcate a hallow aura about the school.
Principal 3			Time spent on the student management plan. Would like to see a music and Business Education program start. To organise. Rational exercise of authority.	
Principal 4		Providing leadership in step with what the community wants.	Educating the Education Council.	Loyalty to community over loyalty to bureaucracy.
Principal 5			Make sure the teachers are following the curriculum.	Developing cultural education program. Throw out academics and deal with real life.

The vast majority of justifications were on the rightness end of the values paradigm. With one exception, each of the BC principals provided evidence of Type I, transrational value justifications for their actions. Principal Three, although acutely aware of the ideological purposes of his school, justified his actions solely on grounds of rational consequence. His failure to conform his role with the purpose of the school and justify his actions accordingly, could have led to his early termination. All other principals provided evidence of both Type IIa and Type I value



justifications. Few responses, or observed actions, of BC principals were justified on Type IIb and Type III grounds of value. Those that were could be successfully argued at higher levels of value.

## **New Zealand Schools**

### **New Zealand - Site One**

From the outset, the principal of NZ Site One conveyed that Maoriness defined her and the school of which she was the leader. Following Seidman's (1991) framework for interviewing in qualitative research, the first interview I conducted with each of the principals focused on his or her life history and, in some instances, details of his or her experience. In response to the first question I asked the principal of NZ Site One, "could you just tell me a little bit about yourself?" she replied, "I'm Maori." First and foremost she was Maori. Then she established where she was from, described her family, and spoke of her education and teaching experience. Similar to the manner in which the principal of BC Site One introduced himself, this principal introduced herself within a web of cultural, physical, spiritual, and social relationships.

NZ Site One is considered a 'Maori school' and is held in high regard by the leaders of the Maori community of greater Auckland. After 25 years the school remains a cluster of portable buildings in a field with overhead power lines near enough to hear their electric hum. This reality conveys a sense that the school is not as highly regarded by some members of the education community at the Ministerial level.

As a Maori school, it replicated traditional Maori values and social structures by adopting organisation structures and protocols consistent with a marae. Visitors need an invitation to visit a marae. Then a traditional welcoming ceremony, or powhiri, must be held to purify visitors of their foreign 'tapu' and neutralise any evil spiritual forces they may have brought with them (Walker, 1994).

After my first meeting with the principal in her office she gave me her permission to freely wander the school after I had been welcomed. The principal organised the powhiri, although she was not present at it. Elders and the Maori immersion students at the school conducted the powhiri. Unlike at the totem pole raising ceremony in BC that was attended by large numbers of both First Nations and non-First Nations people, at this powhiri I was the only non-Maori. Therefore, the ceremony served not so much to differentiate the features of Maori culture from my own. Rather, aside from formally inducting me into the school community, the powhiri unified the

Maori members of that community. It reinforced their values and gave them an opportunity to reiterate their culture. As one of the main purposes of the school was to reawaken the Maori values of the students, powhiris served that purpose well. The students that participated in the powhiri I attended had obviously participated in many others.

The powhiri also legitimated the social structures in the school. The roles of elders and the knowledge they possess are at the forefront in a powhiri. The importance of whanaunatanga, family relationships, is confirmed. The allocation of power is also reiterated. Hosts control powhiris and determine their outcomes. The impassioned singing and dancing of 100 young Maori was an overwhelming display of their power and pride.

Like most schools in New Zealand, this school continued to adjust to changes brought about by the Picot Report of 1988. One of these changes, an emphasis on parent involvement in and control over the schooling of their children, appeared to cohere with the traditional Maori model of education. Hence, the principal made the school a second home, adopted marae protocols and integrated the whanau system into the structure and daily operation of the school with both rational and ideological grounds of justification.

Complying with the mandates stemming from the Picot Report were clearly pragmatic, utilitarian actions for a principal. The Picot Report resulted in the imposition of a prescription for the organisation and delivery of education that sought the best solution to problems facing the delivery of education in New Zealand. This solution was deemed more accountable than the previous system and, as such, the consequences could be more effectively evaluated. These grounds of justification were based on rationality. However, this principal justified her role on both utilitarian and ideological grounds. Pragmatically, she did her best to ensure that the school was managed properly, that the curriculum was delivered appropriately, and that mandates of the Ministry of Education were met.

On the other hand, the emphasis on Maori values and social structures within the school went beyond rationality and was justified on transrational values. Describing the school as being covered by an umbrella of whanaunatanga, embedding marae protocols and the whanau into the daily operation of the school were consistent with Kaupapa Maori; the philosophy and practice of being Maori (Smith, 1992b). The cultural focus of the school was firmly supported on an ideological foundation. The principal's actions, in so far as her intentions were to reproduce Maori culture and values in the school, were likewise justified on the basis of principles and ideologism. Student use of familial terms, such as aunt, mom, uncle, and father or given names to

refer to their teachers instead of Mr. and Mrs., was one example of the acceptance of Maori cultural practices within the school.

The principal noted that since the Picot Report there were more opportunities for leadership for principals and teachers. She commented that previously all the expectations for teaching were set by the government. The government had set criteria and the ways in which you met those criteria were also determined. However, since *Tomorrow's Schools*, communities and schools had been given opportunities to do things in ways that are appropriate for that particular community providing they stay within the guidelines of the education system. She described teachers and principals as “being allowed to spread their wings a little, given opportunities to trial innovations and find their own mistakes within the trialing process” (Principal, NZ Site One).

Hence, described as being on the positive side, benefits to arise from *Tomorrow's Schools* were seen to be opportunities for leadership and innovations, such as adopting whanau and marae structures that were valued on ideological, transrational grounds. One of the negative consequences of *Tomorrow's Schools* was more work for teachers and administrators. In spite of increasing workloads, the benefits of *Tomorrow's Schools* included improved structures for accountability, record keeping, and reporting to parents. These benefits were justified on grounds of rationality and consequence, and therefore, were not attributed with the higher level of value given opportunities for imparting ideological and cultural content.

The principal of NZ Site One was definitive regarding the desired attributes of an incoming principal for the school. Each of the qualities she mentioned was also firmly grounded on the highest level of value. Having a clear understanding of the cultural values and beliefs of the students and their parents was the main prerequisite for the position. Further, given the principal's strong sense of Maoriness, it was not surprising that she included fluency in Maori language and being Maori, in her list of principal attributes. An incoming principal would also be expected to continue with her established leadership style that again was consistent with the Maori cultural emphasis on the collective rather than the individual. Congruent with principles of Kaupapa Maori (Smith, 1992b), leadership in NZ Site One was viewed as a sharing of responsibilities according to the skills of each person within the collective.

### **New Zealand - Site Two**

Like NZ Site One, Site Two embraced many of the structures of a marae and Maori social organisation. Hence, it was consistent with marae protocols that I was sung to by a woman, in

this case, a room full of them, before I was either given permission to walk about the school or before I was granted access to knowledge of the school. It was more likely by design rather than accident that the principal arranged for the timing of our interview to coincide with a song and dance rehearsal of forty young women soon to go on tour to promote the school and the value of being Maori. Sung in Maori and carefully choreographed, the performance reiterated Maori cultural values. Further, a song about the power of women and the need for them to be strong in a world dominated by men also reiterated a major ideological purpose of the school: to train Maori girls to be future leaders for Maori people.

The principal of NZ Site Two viewed her leadership within the school as being contextually similar to the role of women in Maori society, particularly with respect to the role of women in formal gatherings. Women initiate the beginning of a formal gathering with their *karanga*, their call of welcome. In it they can also define the parameters of the meeting to follow. Hence, women's leadership, though described as being "passive" by this principal, was consequential. Her administrative context was one in which schooling was an institutionalised formal gathering. Although, she advocated a notion of shared leadership within the school, she saw herself, a Maori woman driving it, initiating, facilitating, and empowering.

Her views on power being a shared phenomenon and authority belonging to individuals reflected her values orientations toward Maori organisation structures and Western bureaucratic forms. Power was associated and justified with Type I Maori cultural values of collectivism. Authority, on the other hand, she viewed as an invention of Western bureaucracy, and associated with individualism. She held the perspective, shared by other Maori (Smith, 1993), that individualism, the primacy of the individual, stood in contradiction to Maori values that supported collectivism. Widespread incorporation of collectivist forms of social organisation such as the *whanau* into educational forums, were evidence of the high value placed on collectivism. Individualism was regarded by the principal of NZ Site Two as being unsupportable on Type I, ideological grounds of value. Further, although she may have acknowledged the justification of individualism on bureaucratic, rational grounds, she expressed an unequivocal disapproval of individualism on Type III values of preference.

She further described Maori women as having a consultative, collaborative leadership style. This was how she perceived her own style as she exercised leadership in her school. This principal described administration as a "horizontal kind of rapport and action rather than a hierarchy." Perhaps it was because of the collaborative, horizontal nature of her leadership that other staff

members, leaders in their respective areas, shared her views on management structures and subscribed to her espoused ideological justifications for them. Therefore, when she was absent from the school for a week she was confident that other leaders would have exercised their leadership in manners similar to hers and that the school would be operating much the same as if she had not left.

Like the principal of NZ Site One, this principal placed paramount value on being Maori. The most important thing about the school was that it was Maori. This reality, reconstructed in the school, justified many actions of the principal. Maintaining that reality required renegotiation and reinforcement everyday by the constant practice of Maori forms of social organisation. The foundation of Maori social structure, the whanau, was reified in the school. Every girl knew her whanau, to whom she was related and from where she came. Further, as it was a boarding school, intimate relationships were forged among all members of the school community, thereby creating a school-based whanau separate from those to which the girls belonged outside of school. Establishing vibrant Maori social structures within the school was a priority for the principal. For her, the consequences stemming from this priority were seen as benefiting Maoridom.

### **New Zealand - Site Three**

Very early in the first of three long interviews with the principal of NZ Site Three, he alluded to two prior experiences that appeared to have had a profound influence on him. The first was growing up on a marae. The second was spending his first four teaching years in an African country that was at the time a colony of Portugal. Growing up on a marae enculturated him with Maori values and culture. His later, African experience had sensitised him to the concept of colonialism and its manifestations. Returning to teach in New Zealand after four years in Africa he found elements of colonialism in New Zealand's monocultural education system. In Africa the colonial structures were conspicuous. In New Zealand the structures were less explicit but he felt they were much the same. Hence, he embarked on an education career that embraced the cause of Maoridom.

From the beginning of the first interview and throughout the others, morally righteous, adversarial language was embedded in this principal's dialogue. He began the first interview by describing the Education Department as an "evil structure." Connoting morally harmful, organisational malevolence he denounced the work of the Education Department on the basis of morality and religionism. Although possibly erroneous, since morality or the lack thereof is an

individual matter and cannot be attributed to organisational behaviour (Hodgkinson, 1978), this principal attributed morals to organisational pragmatism. The sources of morality are external to individuals. Morals become moral codes through enculturation, socialisation, religious indoctrination, and education rather than through rational processes (Barnard, 1968). Hence, early in the interview process it was established that this principal based the justifications for his actions and the defense of his position on highly moral, transrational values.

It was upon this highly principled, transrational values base that he justified the teaching of Maori and Pacific languages and culture in his school. He used the same type of justification to bring traditional Maori structures and values into the school. These were the principal's priorities and he attached the highest value to their implications and consequences. He felt a school could be transformed into a bicultural institution if it embraced traditional Maori educational and social structures such as the marae and the concept of the whanau. Clearly, his mission was ideological in nature and justification.

It appeared, however, that this principal held a static view of his role: system and administrative context over a period of time in which external organisational and systemic changes required changes in his priorities of involvement. Changes in demographics resulted in a decrease in Maori student enrolment and an increase in Pacific Islander enrolment.

Pacific Islanders face distinctly different ideological, social, and economic challenges in New Zealand society than those faced by Maori. Pacific Islander peoples are excluded from the cause for Maoridom. After years of struggle, Maori appear to be increasingly occupying positions of power and influence throughout the social and economic strata of New Zealand society. Recent arrivals, Pacific Islander immigrants endeavour to develop their own place in New Zealand society. In the meantime, some observers suggest that many Pacific Islanders find themselves occupying places previously held by Maori in the lower socio-economic strata of New Zealand.

Furthermore, missionary work and its consequences in the Pacific Islands continue to have an impact on Pacific Islander immigrants in New Zealand. As Maori are united through the concept of whanaungatanga and their allegiance is to their whanau, Pacific Islanders tend to be united by and dedicated to their churches. The principal of NZ Site Three regarded the power of the church to be far greater than that of the schools. Church ministers demanded and received a commitment from parents and children that superseded the schools, education, and everything else. He felt that the schools simply could not compete with the churches.

Moreover, as the majority of the school trustees became Pacific Islander, support for the principal's commitment to Maoridom respectively diminished. Thus, there arose an intrahierarchical value conflict (Hodgkinson, 1983) at the highest level between the ideological values of the principal and those held within the Pacific Islander community. Resolving such conflicts can involve some sort of forceful confrontation. Outnumbered and ideologically isolated, it appeared unlikely that the principal would emerge unscathed from this conflict.

The education reforms stemming from the Picot Report impacted upon another level of this principal's field of leadership behaviour. These reforms aimed to increase the efficiency and effectiveness of the New Zealand education system. As such, they were justified on rational, consequential grounds. This principal had to contend with an interhierarchial values conflict: a conflict between his intensely held beliefs and the rational pragmatism of the Education Department. Simultaneously enmeshed in both intrahierarchical and interhierarchial values conflicts, safely navigating his way through them was apparently proving difficult and professionally perilous.

Deadline-driven demands and expectations placed upon the principal by the Education Department with respect to accountability in areas such as curriculum implementation, evaluation and supervision of instruction, required his constant attention and participation. Scrutiny of the school by the Education Department and Education Review Office was accompanied by equally intense scrutiny from the media. Local newspapers reported dissatisfaction with exam results. Dealing with these high profile, pragmatic matters conflicted with and detracted from the more ideological personal priorities of the principal. This may explain the adversarial language used by the principal in reference to the Education Department. Constant demands from the Education Department may also explain, in part, why the principal downgraded his main role from an ideological commitment to Maoridom to a more pragmatic role of guiding staff in terms of curriculum delivery, assessment, and meeting external examination deadlines.

Argyris and Schön's (1974) notion of 'espoused theories' verses 'theories in use' may be helpful here in understanding this principal's perspective and his predicament. It appeared to be a case of a principal articulately projecting an espoused theory of action that was incongruent with his actual leadership behaviours. In our formal interview he communicated a theory of action that was consistent with the principal's role as outlined in *Governing and Managing New Zealand Schools*, (New Zealand Ministry of Education, 1997). However, throughout the interviews and described above, this principal placed himself in an ideologically adversarial role with the

Education Department. At one point he described the radical changes forced upon schools as being, “not only relentless, but, in fact, impossible” (Principal, NZ Site Three). In sum, his espoused allegiance was to the policies of the Education Department whereas his theories-in-use demanded allegiance elsewhere.

This principal also identified roles similar to those described by the other principals in this study, such as educating the trustees and parents and keeping both groups informed of the daily activities of the school and abreast of changes initiated by the Education Department. He also stressed the importance of his public relations role. He described public relations in terms of liaising with other principals and other schools, and marketing the school.

His role had changed over time with respect to an increase in communication both within the school and between the school and the community. He also cited a shifting emphasis toward increased accountability of staff performance regarding curriculum delivery and assessment. He viewed these changes as positive. However, implementing them carried logistical difficulties.

He commented how principals were called upon to implement elaborate systems without, in some cases, the requisite expertise either on staff or within the Board of Trustees. Consequently, when staff were reported to the Board for poor performance, the Board was divided in terms of supporting the principal. A Teachers Union that aggressively supported its members compounded the lack of support from the Board. The Board had often backed down. Further, in cases in which the unsatisfactory teacher shared the same culture as a number of the Trustees and was able to speak to them fluently in their own language, it became even more difficult for the principal to ensure staff accountability. Hence, at this school, and in the others researched in this study, as described by Hodgkinson (1991), plural cultural forces compounded the problem of administration.

Adding to the value conflicts with which this principal had to contend were his own definitions of power and leadership. He defined both notions within traditional Maori contexts. One's power was based upon traditional knowledge. Similarly, he viewed leadership as being based upon one's demonstrated expertise in specific areas of the culture.

Emphasising cultural dimensions, his definition of leadership cohered with Sandor and Wiggins' (1985) paradigm of administration for relevance. This principal's theory of administration-in-use valued Maori culture. He appraised his leadership in terms of culturally defined meanings and consequences for improving the quality of, largely, Maori life in New Zealand society. Referring to Sandor and Wiggins' (1985) model again, it can be suggested that



the policies of New Zealand Department of Education cohered with the paradigms of administration for efficiency and administration for effectiveness. Both of which are justified on pragmatic, rational grounds of value. This further demonstrates the interhierarchical values conflict with which this principal had to contend.

Viewing a dimension of his leadership role as a bridge, or form of liaison, between the two worlds of the Maori and Pakeha, this principal articulated his leadership as coming from a bicultural rather than a monocultural perspective. Here, consistent with the notion of leadership being based upon knowledge, he defined the basic principal of leadership, certainly his leadership, as having credibility within both Maori and Pakeha environments.

However, given that just over half the student population was of Pacific Islands origin, he conceded that there needed to be a management structure that accommodated those cultural groups. Therefore, he was lobbying for the school to have two principals; one to represent Maori interests, the other to represent Pacific Islanders. Echoing the other two Maori principals, he regarded power as coming from sharing. Such a notion of power could accommodate two principals in one school. Once again, the Maori notion of shared power conflicted interhierarchically with the rational management structures of the New Zealand Department of Education.

### **Summary of New Zealand Sites**

Emergent themes from the NZ study sites closely reiterated themes found in BC. The importance of Maori culture was clearly a predominant meta-value. Themes found at all NZ sites are described in Table 6.4 below.

**Table 6.4 - Common Themes found at New Zealand Schools**

<b>Theme</b>	<b>Evidence</b>
Culture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Importance of Maori culture permeated the school community</li> <li>• Importance of pride in the local culture</li> <li>• School as a showcase of the local culture</li> </ul>
Purpose	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Purpose of the school to reawaken and reinforce Maori values</li> </ul>
Indigenous ways of teaching, learning, organising, and decision making	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Marae organisation structures evident in the school</li> <li>• Presence of whanau system in schools</li> <li>• Highly participative, collective decision making</li> <li>• Use of elders in the school</li> <li>• Use of familial language</li> </ul>
Roles of the educative leader	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Educative leadership roles extend throughout the community and include educating the parents and trustees</li> <li>• A liaison between two cultures</li> <li>• Ensure curricular obligations are being met</li> </ul>
Expectations/ attributes of an educative leader	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Understanding of and empathy for Maori culture</li> <li>• Knowledge of curriculum</li> </ul>
Educative leadership scope and context	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increased opportunities for leadership across the school community</li> <li>• Leadership as a collective activity and shared responsibility</li> </ul>
Community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• High level of community involvement</li> </ul>
Relationships	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Importance of relationships: familial relationships both past and present, and relationships with places</li> </ul>
Celebrations, ceremonies, and rituals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Adherence to traditional Maori protocols in the school to reinforce and validate Maori norms and values</li> </ul>
Power and authority	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Espoused notion of shared power and shared leadership</li> <li>• The principal is not the main powerbroker</li> <li>• Trustees have the most power</li> </ul>

### **Analysis of Purposes, Values, and Actions at New Zealand Sites**

Once again, Hodgkinson's values taxonomy will be used to graphically represent the values driving the purposes of Maori schools and the actions of their educative leaders. Table 6.5 illustrates the presented purposes of education at the NZ study schools.

**Table 6.5 - Purposes of Education at New Zealand Schools**

	<b>Aesthetic</b>	<b>Economic</b>	<b>Ideological</b>
<b>Grounds of Value Justification</b>	<b>Largely Type III values: preference, affective Some Type I values-existential, transrational</b>	<b>Type II values: utilitarian, rational</b>	<b>Type I values: ideological, transrational</b>
<b>Principal 1</b>			First and foremost is to make our children aware of who they are [Maori and Pacific Islander], where they come from, who they are responsible to and what their responsibilities are.
<b>Principal 2</b>		The purpose is to educate the girls for their future.	To educate Maori girls in a religious context and provide them with the necessary cultural capital. The purpose also is to train them to be future leaders for my [Maori] people.
<b>Principal 3</b>		To develop citizens and the people from the community into young people, educated, literate, able to eke out a living in this particular community always with the opportunities open to aspire towards all levels of employment from the professional right through to the different sectors of the economy and so that has always been the aim.	Supporting the indigenous language. . . . When you listen to the principals and see statements from chairpersons of their [private schools] Boards of Trustees, one sometimes believes that they are still using schools as a colonial tool, a monocultural tool, or an arrogant tool to ignore the basic rights of indigenous languages and to arrogantly and deliberately adopt policies to wipe them out.

Table 6.6 illustrates the values Maori principals used to justify their actions.

**Table 6.6 - Value Justification for Action at New Zealand Schools**

	Good Type III Values Preference, Affective, Subrational	Type IIb Values Consensus	Type IIa Values Consequences	Right Type I Values Principles, Conation, Transrational
		Cognitive, Rational		
		Evidence		
Principal 1			My first responsibility is to the curriculum. I manage the school making sure that I've got the right staff, the things that I want done with the school. To make sure that my staff are properly trained. Making sure that the Ministry gets the information back they ask for.	I decided that we would concentrate on reawakening the Maori values within our children and also reawakening or building on the values of our Pacific Island children, the cultural values.
Principal 2				I want this place to achieve the highest standard of education it can produce for Maoridom, for Maori women. I want them to be confident in two worlds.
Principal 3			My main one [job] is in providing the guidance for staff in terms of making sure that the curriculum and assessment obligations of the school are being met.	My role is to act as liaison between two worlds.

Both the purposes of the study schools in NZ and the actions of their principals were justified on the rightness end of the values paradigm. Reproducing and validating Maori values and culture were the main purposes of the schools and top priorities for the principals.

Accountability and curricular issues stemming from the Picot Report contributed to principals' pragmatic consideration of them. Attending to these issues was justified on rational, consequential grounds of value. Doing the right things were held in higher regard and with more conviction than doing things right. The deep commitment to Maoridom shared by all the principals in the study transcended their views of their overall administrative contexts.

## **Northern Territory Schools**

### **Northern Territory - Site One**

Before addressing the deeper significance of events and comments of participants and mapping the values that underlie leadership in selected Aboriginal schools in NT, it may be helpful to reiterate the major differences between Western and Aboriginal cultures to further develop the context. Differences between Australian Aboriginal cultures and Western, European culture have been documented at length in the literature (Hughes & More, 1993; Parish, 1991; Christie, 1987). Some research supports the notion that Australian Aboriginal culture is more different from European culture than is Maori culture. Harker and McConnochie (1985) suggested that Maori culture was based on values more similar to those of Europeans and therefore more understandable to them. Aboriginal culture, on the other hand, was so different that there was greater potential for it to be far less understandable by Europeans. Harris (1990) who worked for many years to increase his understanding of Aboriginal culture, described the differences between Aboriginal and European cultures to be so great as to be largely incompatible. "The two cultures are antithetic - consisting of more opposites than similarities. They are warring against each other at their foundations" (Harris, p. 9). If these cultures are warring, schools have potentially become the battlefields.

The lateness of European contact with many of the interior and northern tribes coincided with an era of increased awareness of the Aboriginal right to self-determination and of the dismal successes, measured with any yardstick, of Aboriginal students in Australian Schools. These social realities contributed to a situation in the 1970's in which clearly distinctive Aboriginal cultural groups were demanding more control of their own schools. NT Site One was an example of this phenomenon. The structure of Australian schools reflected the dominant, monolithic, bureaucratic model of school administration in which the principal was at the top of the organisational hierarchy. Bates (1982 & 1983) suggested that within this model the practice of

Educational Administration was one of maintaining and perpetuating a technology of control. Wearne (1986) observed that within this model of school organisation teachers occupied the bottom tiers of the hierarchy and Aboriginal parents and the community did not register on it at all. NT Site One was an Aboriginal response to the Western model of school organisation.

Aboriginal parents and the Aboriginal community controlled decision making for Site One from the beginning. They established and guided the development of Site One. An Aboriginal School Council made all the decisions regarding what went on in the school and exercised its ultimate control over the school's daily affairs. There had never been a principal at this school. A director was appointed to coordinate school and community programs.

NT Site One was entering into a transition phase of its development at the time of the field research. Originally, parents from the town camps had established the school for their children who did not speak English and who were having little success in mainstream schools. Over time the school developed into an increasingly large and complex organisation. With staff and facilities to develop curriculum material in four languages, day care and pre-school facilities, and also housing a branch of a sophisticated, international language institute, the school had become known as 'the Aboriginal school' of the area. No longer solely catering for children from the town camps, the school also enrolled students from throughout the town who spoke English as a first language.

Clearly, the values that brought this school into being were Type I values of the highest order. The school arose through a protracted political, ideological struggle. One of the first Two-Way schools in Australia, in 1992 it was still be the only urban designated bilingual school in the Northern Territory (Willmet, 1992).

Successfully operating a Two-Way or Both-Ways school, developing a balance between skills and knowledge from both cultures, within an urban centre, has been shown to be extremely difficult (Harker & McConnochie, 1985). In isolated settings, children are less exposed to Western influences and fewer contradictions between cultures. Reducing such contradictions and facilitating the requisite social and cultural reproductive processes to maintain and strengthen an Aboriginal identity for children who are constantly exposed to pervasive Western influences, is the biggest challenge facing NT Site One. Harris (1990) rephrased this challenge in terms of compartmentalisation and cultural boundaries. He suggested that a degree of cultural compartmentalisation is required for cultural maintenance, particularly in cases in which the imbalance of power between cultures is great. The weaker culture has a better chance if

boundaries are provided and reinforced simultaneous with bicultural exposure. This challenge alone indicates that the struggles are far from over for the parents, School Council, and staff of NT Site One.

In light of this difficulty, the future of Two-Way schooling may appear somewhat gloomy for this school. Nonetheless, one would be well advised not to underestimate the will of Aboriginal people to survive under any conditions Stanner (1969). NT Site One is a physical and ideological expression of the will of the Aboriginal people of central Australia. The director, a politically astute, sophisticated intermediary between the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal communities, appeared to be articulating the will of the parents, School Council, and community members involved with the school.

The director described her role as ensuring that the school ran to the satisfaction of the old, traditional people and that all the laws, traditions, and the culture were maintained. Such a role could be justified on two grounds of value. At the highest level she could have been deeply committed to Aboriginal culture and its maintenance within the school. She could also have been quite pragmatic and could have justified her role at a purely rational level. Given the considerable power and authority of the School Council, the consequences of her displeasing them would have resulted in her being fired. With these considerations in mind, during a week of data collection at the school, observing and interviewing the director and other staff members, I gathered sufficient evidence to indicate that the director tended to justify her actions with Type I, transrational values.

In our discussions, the director melded her role with the purposes of the school. When asked to describe her role she explained the purpose of the school. Conversely, when articulating the purpose of the school, she spoke of her role. It was often unclear whether she was commenting on her role or the school's purpose. It appeared that the purpose of the school had become part of her identity. Given the Type I, ideological principles upon which the school was established, provided further evidence of the equally transrational values she used to justify her actions.

Furthermore, when describing her various leadership roles and purposes of the school she freely interchanged first person personal pronouns with first person plural pronouns. For example, "Mainly mine [role] is to educate them [Council] how the education system works, how the financial system works. We have to educate them [parents] in a sense of understanding the Western culture, the laws, politics" (Director, NT, Site One). Such usage implies that a collective rather than an individual opinion is being expressed. This implication underlined the director's

identity as member of a collective. The importance of an Aboriginal identity within a collective associated with a particular place, thereby making existence meaningful, has been stressed in the literature (Hughes & More, 1993).

Recapitulating, the purpose of the school had become a major part of her identity and her sense of personal self could not be disassociated from a collective identity. The collective implications here signal one of the characteristics of indigenous education initiatives outlined in pertinent research. The director, indeed, the ethos of NT Site One, exemplified Barnhardt and Harrison's (1993) description of an over-arching sense of commitment to the collective interests of the local Aboriginal community. NT Site One and the director also exemplified another finding of their research in that often "indigenous education initiatives are at odds with government authorities because of their insistence on responding to community imperatives first, and only secondarily concerning themselves with state requirements" (p. 94).

It was here that the impact and consequences of the transition phase of NT Site One placed the director in an interhierarchical values conflict. She was highly committed to doing "the right thing." However, her ability to do some things right were questioned. While the director was confident that her Aboriginality was a sufficient qualification for her position, some others were not convinced. She viewed her administrative context as one in which the people she worked for, the Aboriginal community, valued her for her Aboriginal knowledge. She felt that communicating with her traditional family gave her sufficient skills and knowledge to do the job. If she needed additional help, she was confident she could go to one of the many elders available and involved with the school. She was clear that a "piece of paper wasn't needed here" (Director, NT Site One), thus reiterating McCue's (1990) observation of First Nations managers in BC and Christie's (1987) of Aboriginal Australians that cultural and personality qualities are valued more than qualifications in indigenous societies.

Nevertheless, the director was not a trained educator, and as the school grew into an increasingly complex educational organisation, her inadequate educational skill set was perceived by some as being unequal to the task of coordinating the sophisticated education programs within the school. This situation was somewhat the reverse of the one in which Principal One of BC Site Three found himself. He operated largely in the rational, utilitarian values domain and was in conflict with the ideological values of the local First Nations Education Authority. The principal of NT Site One justified her actions largely on ideological grounds of value. However, there were certain pragmatic considerations that the director did not value and hence, to which she did not



thoroughly attend. These considerations included: accountability to the NT Department of Education, ensuring Council meetings were held according to its constitution, selection of staff, restructuring of decision-making groups in the school, and refining the role of Council to be more concerned with policy decisions and less involved with the daily operation of the school. These were utilitarian matters that could be justified on rational, consequential grounds of value. Although grounded on values of a type lower on the value paradigm than those justifying the ideological intent of the school, these are concerns that educative leaders ignore at their peril. These accountability and organisational arrangements provide the infrastructure for the actualisation of ideological purposes.

In spite of her commitment to the transrational values that underpinned the purposes of NT Site One, the director ceased to be employed at the school several months after the field research had been completed. Nevertheless, Aboriginal cultural maintenance and Aboriginal leadership were the stated priorities that permeated every aspect of this school from its inception, to the time of the research and most likely into the future. The director's commitment to those priorities could be viewed with optimism. Barnhardt and Harrison (1993) found that the success and survival of indigenous education initiatives is largely determined by the extent to which they are able to transcend conventional institutional concerns and demonstrate in culturally appropriate ways an unequivocal commitment to the community they serve.

The director may have been a casualty of a values conflict in which her political astuteness was outpaced by her lack of organisational pragmatism. Regardless, her uncompromising fidelity to traditional Aboriginal laws and customs, even possibly at her own expense, increased the collective self-esteem and self-determination of the cultural groups with whom she was associated.

### **Northern Territory - Site Two**

As with NT Site One, NT Site Two was also undergoing a transition phase during the time of the field research. Begun one year before the field research, the structural changes implemented by the Aboriginal vice-principal impacted on the principal's administrative context in a number of ways. Further, after 44 years at the school, the principal's retirement was imminent. Essentially, the principal was easing herself out of her position and facilitating the development of a locally derived model of Aboriginal leadership.

At this school the highly participatory, collective, consensual mode of decision making, identified in the literature on indigenous education (Harker & McConnochie, 1985; Rowse, 1992;

Wolcott, 1967; Coombs, 1994; Smith & Smith, 1996), had crystallised into a unique model of shared leadership. This leadership was clearly a theory of action-in-use at this school. Before describing the emergent group leadership model at NT Site Two, a closer look at the outgoing principal's priorities of involvement and her definition of her situation are warranted.

Forty-four years of dedication attested to the principal's high level of commitment both to her religion and to the community within which she lived and worked. The principal was a Sister of the order of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart (OLSH). Her religionism was a driving force behind her actions. With respect to programs operating within the school, her justifications for them straddled Type I, transrational, and Type II, rational values. On pragmatic grounds of consequence the principal set policy for adhering to the curriculum. On ideological grounds she promoted a Two-Way or Both-Ways bicultural, bilingual approach to education. Her continuity at the school and her utilitarian attention to detail were most likely responsible for the school becoming the first accredited bilingual school in the Northern Territory in 1985. Given that the local language had never been written, the process of the attaining the first accreditation as a bilingual school took two linguists, both Sisters of OLSH, eleven years to write the language and develop curriculum. The school operated a literacy production department that continually produced curriculum in this language.

There was, in addition to running a Cultural Program in the school, further evidence of the principal's commitment to maintaining the vitality of the local culture. The school also played a role as a repository of local cultural knowledge. The principal, with the help of the Northern Territory Museum, built a museum on the school grounds to house the many local cultural artifacts she had been given over the years. She referred to the museum as her Swan Song. It was her gift to the people that she would leave their culture intact as far as she could, and leave them a storehouse of artifacts. The museum was a vital part of the school. It was a physical manifestation of the high value placed on the local culture. Legends had been retold, re-enacted and put on videotape. As part of the Culture Program, students went to the museum and watched legends of their ancestors. Tour groups paid to tour the museum. Admission fees and donations paid the wages of a local woman who was employed to look after the museum. She took her job seriously. Given the spirituality that permeated all the artifacts inside, looking after them was a serious matter. Thus, the museum showcased and validated the local culture.

Underscoring the importance of relationships, the Literacy Production Department, in addition to developing curriculum, had also completed the genealogies of all members of the local

cultural group. At any time a member of the community could come to the school and trace his or her ancestry back a number of generations.

Within this general context of validating the local culture, a model of educative leadership emerged from the cultural emphasis on group leadership. This model, unique in the literature on administrative structures, became a viable structure within the school. The model and its origins will now be described.

Anticipating her pending retirement, the principal had been mentoring a principal-in-training for several years. Very much conditioned professionally and culturally to the common, hierarchical model of school organisation with the principal alone at the top, the principal did not question that such an infrastructure would continue at NT Site Two when she left. She continued her mentoring with the principal-in-training with such a model of administration in mind. It soon became apparent that the unquestioned model of leadership the principal was attempting to pass on was not going to work. Dialogue within the school had diminished and decisions were stalled.

The principal-in-training acknowledged she needed support. However, she rejected the infrastructure of the hierarchical model of organisation in favour of a model that belonged to her culture. The structure she adopted replicated a ceremonial circle representing the four local clans. Typical of indigenous cultures, most events were accompanied by a ceremony. A circular area is cleared on the ground to prepare for a ceremony in this culture. Members of the four clans take their designated positions around the circle. Then, according to protocols specific to the purpose of the ceremony, the ceremony begins. An outsider would have difficulty determining who the leaders were in this circular formation.

The school was recognised as a place of ceremony. It was a place where things happened. As in the local culture, different people held leadership positions in different areas. It was appropriate then to adopt the circle, representing the four clans, as the infrastructure to support the principal-in-training. The principal-in-training proposed this model and chose four teachers, one from each clan, to support her in the school. She also chose four elders, one from each clan, to support her in the wider school community.

The four teachers forming this leadership group and the principal-in-training were formally interviewed during the field research. They articulated the need for the group model and their leadership roles within the school. The principal-in-training was quick to point out that “there’s no one leader in this school.” When women went hunting, there was no single leader of the group. Each woman brought with her her specialised skills. One may be an expert at finding,

catching, and preparing snakes or goannas. Another may know when and where to find a particular seed or root. Another may know how to recognise certain medicinal plants, what to use them for, and how best to prepare them.

Transposing this model into the school saw each of these women as a recognised leader of her clan and an expert in her area of specialisation. One was responsible for the Cultural Program. Another was responsible for Aboriginal teachers' professional development, coordinating early childhood education and assisting with finance. One assisted with discipline. The last was responsible for the bilingual program in the school. When describing their responsibilities, each one explicitly stated that her responsibility was to work with or liaise with the principal-in-training in each of their respective areas.

It is worth reiterating that communication and relationships within this culture were strictly governed by clan membership. Marriage and even face-to-face communication were taboo between two of the four clans. In light of this, the group leadership model at the school, with its extension of four elders in the community, facilitated more thorough communication and participation in decision making than the typical one-leader model of administrative organisation. Furthermore, such a supportive infrastructure would lessen the amount of stress to which a single leader could be subjected.

The issue of stress and indigenous leadership was not a subject of this study nor does it appear to be very well represented in the literature. However, through the course of this research it became apparent that leader stress in indigenous education is an issue that merits attention. One of the Aboriginal principals who agreed to participate in the study took a stress leave only weeks before I was to visit her school. One of the Maori principals went on stress leave shortly after the research was undertaken. During the site selection process for the research several prospective schools were ruled out as a consequence of their principals going on stress leave. Given the small size of sample involved and the number of cases of work-related stress encountered, it appears that stress could be affecting principals of indigenous schools at such a rate as to undermine the planned processes of localisation. This issue needs to be investigated with research. Nevertheless, the supportive, culturally coherent model of group leadership seen at NT Site Two may have potential application, with modifications, in other indigenous contexts.

It is interesting to note that the leadership group at NT Site Two was the only 'participant' that addressed the question regarding desired attributes of an educative leader for the school with an answer different, in one key aspect, than all other participants. Although they included a deep

understanding of the school in their response, this group of five Aboriginal women were the only ones to specify the need for formal qualifications as a desired characteristic of an incoming principal. Like all other participants they included the characteristic of understanding the local culture. Here they went somewhat further than other participants and tied the desired attributes of an incoming principal with their vision of the school. Their vision was that the school be completely staffed by members of the local culture, including the principalship, and organised in a culturally appropriate manner.

### **Northern Territory - Site Three**

Transition was a characteristic common to the Aboriginal schools researched in this study. Over the past four years the school had gone from being an Aboriginal school staffed almost entirely by non-Aboriginals, to an Aboriginal school staffed almost entirely by local Aboriginal people. The principal of NT Site Three was a renowned artist, a published writer, a community leader, and a voice for Aboriginal culture. Connotations of the school's interactive relationship with the community were conveyed by the absence of discernable boundaries between it and the community.

In recent years the principal had established an Arts Centre in the community. At the time the Arts Centre was developed, the school's curriculum did not reflect a Both-Ways approach. Therefore, to compensate for what she saw as a hidden curriculum of assimilation at the school, the principal started the Arts Centre for the purposes of developing a local culture-derived curriculum based on continuous community input. Although started by the principal, the Arts Centre was not part of the school in the Western sense of being attached to it. However, from a holistic, Aboriginal perspective in which everything is related, the Arts Centre was an extension of the school. Rather than involving students attending NT Site Three, the Arts Centre involved former students and members of the community. It provided these people with a forum for learning and expressing themselves in a culturally consistent manner.

Similar to the Arts Centre was a Women's Centre. Also off the school grounds and established with the help of the principal, the Women's Centre was a focal point for the dissemination of local oral and community history to students and community members. It was also the site at which numerous, culturally pertinent community projects were discussed and proposed. At the time of its inception, the Women's Centre was chosen over the school for the

teaching of Aboriginal culture because Elders did the teaching there. The school was viewed as a Western educational institution operating on a foundation of Anglo-Australian values.

At the time of the field research for this study the Arts Centre and Women's Centre were still operating and providing culturally vital services to the community. However, staffing at the school had become localised. Although, remaining a Catholic school, it was largely staffed and controlled by Aboriginal people from the community. No longer was the school viewed strictly as a disseminator of Anglo-Australian values. Rather, it was considered a Both-Ways school. During the field research, a great deal of Aboriginal cultural learning and teaching was observed taking place in the school.

The principal of NT Site Three appeared to be a servant to the local community to a greater extent than were any of the other principals in this study. She viewed herself as a community leader and a bridge between cultures. Others viewed her in a similar light. Consequently, the expectations and demands on her were excessive and extensive.

Observing the constant flow of visitors from outside and within the community seeking time with the principal, caused me to reflect once more on the issue of indigenous principal stress. Stress and the capacity to cope with relentless demands were reiterated themes at this school. The principal made frequent references to the constant arrivals and departures of people largely from outside the community. Such were the demands placed on this principal from within and beyond the community that she placed the ability to cope with a myriad of demands and not buckle under pressure, as one of the most important attributes of an incoming principal for the school.

Coming from the local community was another desirable characteristic of an incoming principal. This view was implicit in her expressed opinion that a requisite attribute of a principal was the capability to withstand family pressures and not give in to them because they were family. Certainly, if an incoming principal was not from the area, then succumbing to family pressures would not be an issue. However, given that it was an anticipated problem signified the power of obligatory relationships within families.

The assistant principal also referred to the demands placed on the principal. He expressed concern about the continual stress that she was under and was not confident that she could endure it for much longer. Having one teacher from the school replace her as principal did not appear probable. Nor was any one person likely to be able to do the job. He was, however, familiar with the group leadership model at NT Site Two. He felt that, given the level of professional

development of the present teachers, with local cultural modifications, such a model would have a better chance of success at this school than the one-principal model.

In their discussions of the demands placed on the principal, both the principal and assistant principal spoke of the outside community demands, including those coming from the NT Department of Education, as being of less importance than those demands coming from the community. Without exception, outside demands were accorded a far lesser degree of commitment than those coming from the school and community. For example, visitors from the Department of Health or Department of Education would have their visits cut short if, during the visit, someone from the local community came up to the school and described an incident occurring at someone's home that needed the principal's intervention.

The principal expressed and demonstrated an unwavering loyalty to the Aboriginal values of her school community. Adhering to and strengthening values implicit in the local Aboriginal culture had priority over all other variables in her administrative context. Often, as I observed, and as commented on by the assistant principal, the precedence of the local culture over the process of 'schooling' appeared to undermine the amount of teaching and learning that went on in classrooms. As substantiated by the assistant principal, the school was not an entity separate from what was going on in the community. The notion of holism, the relatedness of all things, was evidenced by the way in which the school and the role of the principal were integrated with the community.

### **Summary of Northern Territory Sites**

Themes common to BC and NZ schools were, for the most part, also evident at all NT study schools. A commitment to Aboriginal culture was the overriding meta-value at each school. Themes found at each site are illustrated in Table 6.7 below.

**Table 6.7 - Common Themes Found at Northern Territory Schools**

<b>Theme</b>	<b>Evidence</b>
Culture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Importance of Aboriginal culture was paramount and permeated the school community</li> <li>• Importance of pride in the local culture</li> <li>• School as showcase of local culture</li> </ul>
Purpose	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Bilingual/bicultural purpose of the school, to maintain the local languages and cultures and learn English</li> <li>• Role of school to look after health and welfare of students at school and at home</li> </ul>
Indigenous ways of teaching, learning, organising, and decision making	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Aboriginal organisation structures operating in the school</li> <li>• Highly participative, collective decision making</li> <li>• Elders used as problem solvers and teachers</li> <li>• Older ones helping younger ones</li> <li>• Widespread use of familial language</li> </ul>
Roles of the educative leader	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Role of educative leader as community problem solver</li> <li>• Educative leadership roles extend throughout the community and include educating the parents, Council, and members of the community</li> <li>• A liaison between two cultures</li> </ul>
Expectations/ attributes of an educative leader	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The ability to cope with demands from all quarters and not buckle under the pressure</li> <li>• Sensitivity to and understanding of Aboriginal culture</li> <li>• Aboriginality as a qualification for an educative leader</li> </ul>
Educative leadership scope and context	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Leadership as empowering others to take on specific responsibilities</li> <li>• Extensive opportunities for educative leadership</li> <li>• Leadership by example</li> <li>• Elders as other educative leaders</li> <li>• Leadership as a collective activity and shared responsibility</li> </ul>
Community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• School as the site of community business and repository of community knowledge</li> <li>• School extends into the community</li> <li>• High level of community involvement</li> <li>• Community ownership of school, literally and figuratively</li> </ul>
Relationships	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Importance of relationships: familial relationships both past and present, and relationships with places</li> <li>• Importance of trust within relationships</li> </ul>
Celebrations, ceremonies and rituals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Evidence of traditional cultural ceremonies in the school</li> <li>• Role of ceremony to reinforce and validate cultural norms and values</li> </ul>
Power and authority	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Power should be shared to empower others</li> <li>• Espoused notion of shared power and shared leadership</li> <li>• The principal is not the main powerbroker</li> <li>• Parents, Council, elders, and community members as powerbrokers</li> </ul>



**Analysis of Purposes, Values, and Actions at Northern Territory Sites**

As with the other two international contexts, Hodgkinson's values taxonomy is used to demonstrate the values used to justify the purposes of the NT study schools and the actions of their educative leaders. Table 6.8 illustrates the purposes of education at the NT study schools and their grounds of value justification.

**Table 6.8 - Purposes of Education at Northern Territory Sites**

	<b>Aesthetic</b>	<b>Economic</b>	<b>Ideological</b>
<b>Grounds of Value Justification</b>	<b>Largely Type III values: preference, affective Some Type I values-existential, transrational</b>	<b>Type II values: utilitarian, rational</b>	<b>Type I values: ideological, transrational</b>
<b>Principal 1</b>		The purpose of this is for them to learn English as a second language but still maintaining their mother tongue.	Their [parents] aims and their objectives for these children is to maintain their language, also learn Western ways. They also have to learn the Western culture as well.
<b>Principal 2</b>			We're here to instill into the children we teach that they have the right to be themselves as Aboriginal people. To give them the great gift that God loves each one of them and the future is in their hands. To instill in them that they come from such a deep culture themselves and to have a deep respect for themselves and for every other living person.
<b>Leadership Group NT Site Two</b>			To learn about the outside world and how they live and how they relate to things in life. To provide Both-Ways education.
<b>Principal 3</b>		Teaching them reading and writing and math.	To empower them [students] in becoming strong as Aboriginal people inside side by side with Western ways of living and being educated. The school helps teach them their local culture.
<b>Assistant Principal NT Site Three</b>		The kids learn to read and write in English and that they progress through a Maths curriculum.	That the children have an Aboriginal cultural education.

Reproducing and maintaining Aboriginal culture and values were a primary purpose of each of the study schools and were supported on Type I ideological, transrational grounds of value.

The pragmatic purposes of increasing English language and math skills were justified on Type IIa, rational grounds of value. The actions of principals, shown below in Table 6.9, reflect corresponding justifications.

**Table 6.9 - Value Justification for Action at Northern Territory Sites**

	Good Type III Values Preference, Affective, Subrational	Type IIb Values Consensus	Type IIa Values Consequences	Right Type I Values Principles, Conation, Transrational
		Cognitive, Rational		
	Evidence			
Principal 1			To make sure that these children's English learning is progressing. To make sure that all staff, teaching and non-teaching are doing their jobs and they all have the materials to do so.	My main role is that I must make sure that the school is running properly to the satisfaction of the old, traditional people. That all the laws and the traditions and the culture is maintained here because that's the philosophy.
Principal 2			To lead by example. For them to see that little things in a school count very much.	I'm an advisor, a guide, a friend, a caretaker, a policeman. My biggest role is that I am religious. Coupled with that, is to guide this new ship, [Aboriginal] ship into their way of running a school. It's going to be different to my way.
Leadership Group NT Site Two			Support the principal [in-training] by assuming shared responsibility for various school programs.	To be leaders of our clans. To implement Aboriginal organisation structures within the school.
Principal 3			I'm in charge of the school.	I'm like a bridge between two cultures.
Assistant Principal NT Site Three			Look after a lot of the details of running the school.	To protect the principal from all the demands on her.

Clearly, as in BC and NZ, the educative leaders in NT who participated in this study justified their actions largely with the highest grounds of value. One principal was so committed to the ideological justification of her actions that she underestimated the consequences of neglecting rational, pragmatic considerations. Similar to the BC principal who did the opposite, that is underestimating the ideological domain in favour of the rational domain, she left her position shortly after the field research was conducted.

### **Educative Leadership in Indigenous School Communities: International Patterns**

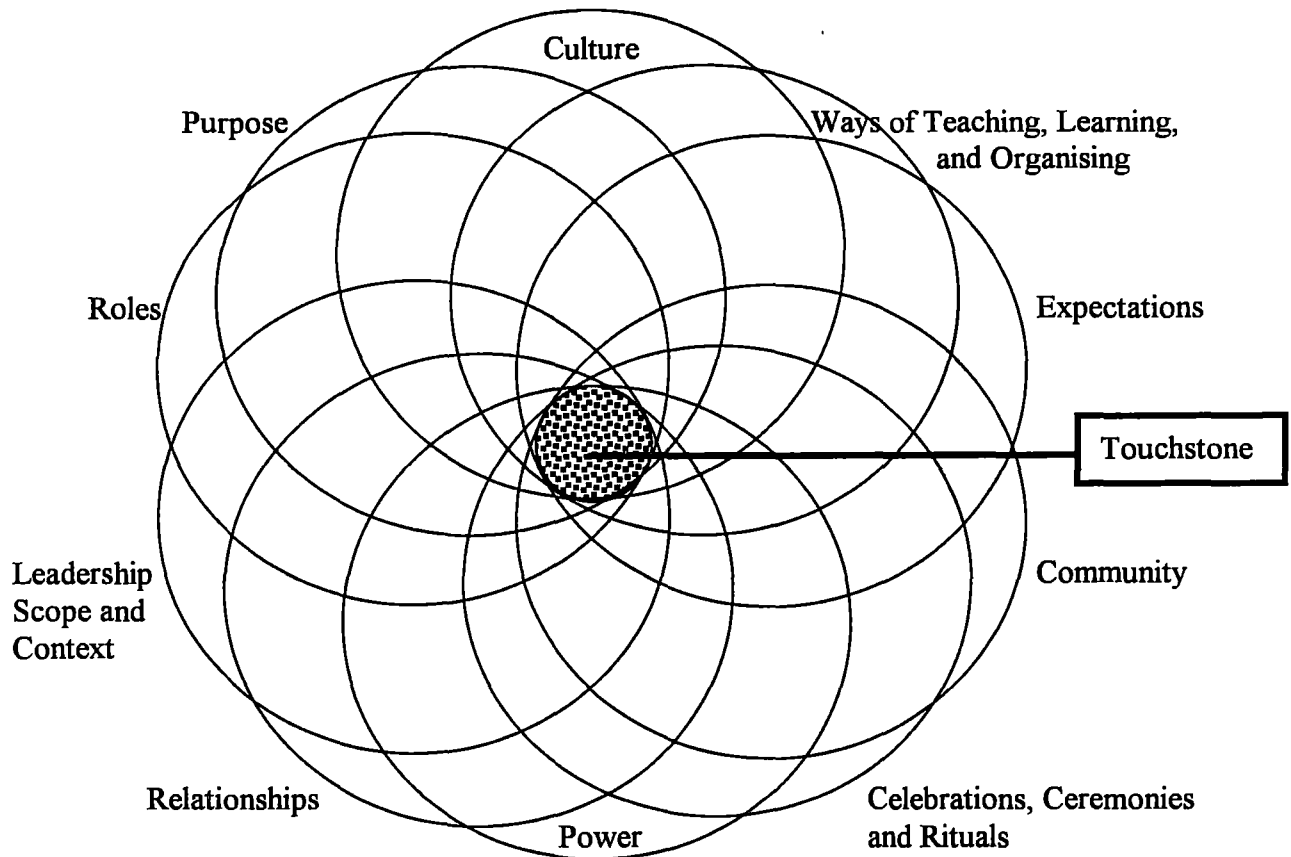
At this juncture in this chapter several objectives have been realised. Research sites were revisited independent of one another and events and utterances of participants were further described and explained. Key ideas about educative leadership were induced from a variety of data gathered at each school community. A number of prominent themes were identified. Hodgkinson's (1978, 1983, 1991, & 1996) work on the analysis of values in educational leadership was used to determine the predominant values that underpinned the purposes of each school and the values their leaders used to justify their actions. Generalisations were made to identify common patterns and values across study sites in each national arena. It is now possible to generalise across all international sites to ascertain the degree of touchstone between them.

Themes common to all international sites were determined by synthesising common themes found at BC, NZ, and NT study schools. This process generated ten major themes or categories of evidence found at each school. These international patterns are illustrated in Table 6.10.

**Table 6.10 - Themes Common to all International Sites**

<b>Theme</b>	<b>Evidence</b>
Culture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Importance of the indigenous culture permeated the school community</li> <li>• Importance of pride in the local culture</li> <li>• School as a showcase of the local culture</li> </ul>
Purpose	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• School as a site of indigenous cultural maintenance and reproduction</li> </ul>
Indigenous ways of teaching, learning, organising, and decision making	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Highly participative, consensual decision making</li> <li>• Use of elders in the school</li> </ul>
Roles of the educative leader	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Educative leadership roles extend throughout the community and include educating parents, Education Council/Trustees, and community members</li> <li>• A liaison between two cultures</li> </ul>
Expectations/ attributes of an educative leader	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sensitivity to, knowledge of and respect for the indigenous culture were prerequisites for the effectiveness and the success of the principal</li> </ul>
Educative leadership scope and context	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Extensive opportunities for educative leadership across the entire school community. Few restraints on leadership</li> </ul>
Community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• High level of community involvement</li> <li>• Permeable boundaries between school and community</li> </ul>
Relationships	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Importance of relationships: familial relationships both past and present and relationships with places and nature</li> </ul>
Celebrations, ceremonies and rituals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Extensive use of celebrations, ceremonies, and rituals to reinforce and validate indigenous cultural norms and values</li> </ul>
Power and authority	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Cautious use of power and authority by the principal</li> <li>• Espoused notion of shared power</li> <li>• Parents and Education Council/Trustees as powerbrokers</li> </ul>

Illustrating the common themes across national and international sites in the above table may give the erroneous impression that each of the themes is a discrete entity. On the contrary, consistent with the holistic, interrelated nature of indigenous world-views, each theme overlaps all others. The overlap among themes, their interactions and shared commonalities, and the touchstone between them, is better illustrated with a figure such as Figure 6.2 below. Thus, it appears that the substance of touchstone is the indigenous world view and its epistemology.

**Figure 6.2 - Interactions and Touchstone of Common Themes Across All Sites**

A discussion follows of each of the common themes illustrated above and their local variations.

### **Culture**

The importance of the local culture was the paramount meta-value across all sites. The value of the culture was unquestioned. The local culture, above all else, shaped the administrative context of the educative leaders. The culture permeated the school, relationships within the school and relationships between the school and community.

### **Purpose**

Cultural reproduction was a major function of education at all sites. Most schools had a bicultural focus. The degrees to which cultural reproduction and biculturalism were the explicit purposes of the school varied across sites. All stressed the purpose of promoting local cultural values; NT schools however, were the most concerned with emphasising both cultures. NZ schools were the most concerned with promoting the local culture and the least concerned with a bicultural

approach. The approach taken by BC schools fell somewhere between the bicultural emphasis in NT and the more mono-cultural, Maori emphasis in NZ.

### **Ways of Teaching, Learning, Organising, and Decision Making**

This group-category was present in all sites but less so in BC than in NZ or NT. Traditionally, elders had teaching roles and consensual decision-making models were present to varying degrees in all the indigenous cultures reviewed in this study. Field research for this study confirmed that the use of elders within the school and a tendency toward consensual decision-making models were evident in all study sites. Across BC sites, the use of elders in the school and a desire for consensus were the most conspicuous indicators of this category. Both NZ and NT schools incorporated culturally specific organisation structures. The whanau was present in all NZ schools. Group leadership models had been adopted in two NT schools and such a model was being considered for the third school.

### **Roles**

The educative roles of the leaders of the selected study schools extended beyond the school throughout the community and included educating parents, Education Council, Trustees, and community members. Liaising between cultures was an important role expressed by all the educative leaders. Community educator, problem solver and cultural liaison were roles stressed over and above the typical multi-faceted roles of school principals in the wider societies. It may be worth noting here that only four participants cited a responsibility to ensure the curriculum was being followed as part of their role. Instructional leadership was not mentioned by any of the participants.

### **Expectations and Attributes**

Sensitivity to, knowledge of and respect for the indigenous culture were prerequisites for the effectiveness and success of the principal.

### **Leadership Scope and Context**

Extensive opportunities for educative leadership spanned the entire school community. All educative leaders commented on the many and varied opportunities for leadership in their respective school communities. Those who had prior leadership experiences in non-indigenous contexts described there being considerably more opportunities for leadership in indigenous



schools. Within most indigenous communities there appeared to be an awareness that there were problems without solutions for many of the students. Hence, given that most solutions had not worked to date, as long as an approach could be justified it was generally supported by stakeholders.

### **Community**

A high level of community involvement was evident at every school. Boundaries between school and community appeared extremely permeable. Even in instances in which the school was surrounded by a fence, the purposes of the school and the roles of the principal extended the school into the community. Similarly, the community penetrated the school via the involvement of elders and community members in school programs. Additionally, to varying degrees, social structures operating in the community were incorporated into the school.

### **Relationships**

The importance of relationships, particularly familial relationships both past and present and relationships with places and nature, was evident at all sites. The emphasis on relationships attested to the indigenous holistic world-view that was embodied by a belief in the relatedness of all things.

### **Celebrations, Ceremonies, and Rituals**

Celebrations, ceremonies, and rituals were used across all sites as a means of reinforcing and validating indigenous cultural norms and values. They were also expressive of the spiritual dimension of indigenous cultures. Belief in and respect for the relatedness of all things, natural and supernatural, underpinned many of the ceremonies held within indigenous school communities.

### **Power and Authority**

Power and authority were exercised cautiously by all educative leaders. An espoused notion of shared power was variously manifested at each school. Parents and Education Council/Trustees were recognised powerbrokers. Education Council/Trustees were informed of and involved in many of the daily affairs at the schools.

### **Differences Between Sites**

Within each of the above common themes there were local variations. Nevertheless, the degree of variation did not negate the across-site commonalities of the theme. There were, however, categories and subcategories present in several sites but not in all. The category of problems/challenges confronting the school will be briefly discussed here.

The problems needing to be addressed at each school as identified by participants in this study, varied considerably yet shared some characteristics that merit mention. Each of the problems identified by participants appeared to impact the field of administrative activity in all sites.

Low attendance and success rates of indigenous students are problems recognised at the system level across Canada, New Zealand and Australia. Statistics were cited in Chapter Two supporting this statement. Although only two participants in this study stated attendance as a problem, generally poor attendance was common to all schools with the exception of the boarding school in NZ. Several principals in the study mentioned unacceptably low success rates of high school students. However, this was not identified by any principal as a problem.

Related to attendance were issues of punctuality. Referring to the common phenomenon of students arriving late to school, one principal in BC cited 'Indian Time' and one principal in Australia cited 'Aboriginal Time' as a problem that needed to be resolved. Chronic lateness may be an indicator of differences between indigenous and non-indigenous temporal mapping (Schatzman & Strauss, 1973). Clearly, the temporal structure of conventional school is inconsistent with indigenous views of time (Harker & McConnochie, 1985). Given that punctuality appears to be a problem, other, more culturally appropriate ways of organising the temporal structure of indigenous schools, might be worth considering.

Staffing was identified as a problem by several principals. A shortage of specialist expertise, particularly in the area of teaching the local language, was common to BC and NT schools and mentioned by one principal in NZ. Shortages of qualified indigenous teachers were mentioned at all BC and NT sites and one NZ site. Staff continuity was an expressed concern at all BC and NT sites and not mentioned in NZ. Indigenous schools in BC and NT tended to be staffed by young, inexperienced teachers unable to secure teaching positions in urban, mainstream schools. A few years in an indigenous school, particularly in a remote location, was regarded as providing the requisite experience to be considered competitive in the open teaching market. Hence, continuity

of the educative leader in light of high staff turnover was mentioned by most of the participants as being important to offset the absence of teacher continuity.

Most principals in the study also identified the constant involvement of dealing with pressures and problems of their extended families as a problem for indigenous teachers. Again, the importance of relationships, particularly familial relationships, had priority over the needs of the school organisation. Consequently, local teachers were either frequently absent dealing with family issues, or their level of distraction was such that it diverted energy from their jobs.

Unreasonable external expectations were regarded as a problem by most of the principals in the study. Although this could be cited as a problem by the principal of any school, there was an aspect of external expectations expressed by the principals of the study schools that would probably not be made by the majority of the principals of nearby non-indigenous schools. Globally, accountability structures at the District, Trustee, and system levels are increasing for school administrators. NZ principals shifted from being perhaps the least accountable pre-Picot, to being among the most accountable post-Picot. Accountability, though, was not regarded as a common problem.

Expectations regarding English language acquisition and mastery were a problem that was expressed by most of the principals in the study. First Nations, Aboriginal, and Maori students are generally behind their non-indigenous age-grade peers with respect to English language skills. These students begin school with a smaller English vocabulary and less developed English language skills than do non-indigenous students. As these students progress through the grades, the gap widens between the level of their language skills and those of their non-indigenous counterparts. In spite of this gap, there is an expressed expectation on the part of parents, Council/Trustees, system leaders, and politicians at all levels, that as many indigenous students achieve success throughout high school and attain the equivalent graduation status as non-indigenous students, and do so in the same period of time. Most of the principals in the study felt this was certainly a worthwhile goal, but was, at the same time, an unreasonable expectation.

Although none of the problems outlined above were identified by all participants, each problem was present, to a degree, at all sites and had to be addressed. It is most likely that each of these problems are present at most indigenous schools. If so, successfully addressing them will be included in the administrative context of all indigenous schools for some time into the future.

## Summary and Conclusions

This chapter presented an analysis and synthesis of data gathered during the field research. Descriptions of events, actions, and utterances of educative leaders and school-community stakeholders were analysed to ascertain concealed meanings and veiled significance. Dominant themes and the values that supported them were identified at each site. National sites were then aggregated and a pattern of common themes was extrapolated. Finally, themes common across all international sites were aggregated for commonalities and the touchstone of educative leadership in indigenous schools identified. Throughout the chapter, iterative procedures linked emerging constructs and categories with the literature on indigenous world views, and what is known about indigenous ways of organising, teaching, and learning. Thus, data gathered and conclusions drawn from this research were supported by frequent references to the literature and generalisations were strengthened. The values underlying the purposes of education at each school and the value base upon which educative leaders justified their actions were audited with the values paradigm developed by Hodgkinson (1978, 1983, 1991, & 1996).

The overriding image of school to emerge from the analysis was one of the school as a familial place and a recognised site of cultural reproduction. This image of school had holographic dimensions (Morgan, 1986) in that regardless of where in the school one was, who was spoken to, and what aspect or actions were analysed, elements of the same image appeared. An unquestioned commitment to the local culture permeated each school. The local culture was an overarching meta-value that shaped the schools' purposes and defined the administrative context of their educative leaders. More ideological than pragmatic, justifications for school purpose and administrative activity were supported on the highest grounds of value. In spite of vast cultural differences across national and international school communities, similarities outweighed differences.

The next chapter provides a discussion of theories of leadership in use in indigenous schools. Theories will be extrapolated from the identified themes common to all international sites. Literature on theory development will be used to guide the articulation of theories in use. Comparisons will be made between theories in use in indigenous schools and the literature on theory development in educational administration.

## **CHAPTER SEVEN**

### **DISCUSSION**

In the first analysis, a philosophy of administration must be constrained and determined by cultural context and ideology; in the last analysis it must go beyond these.

Hodgkinson, 1996

### **Introduction**

The previous chapter provided a systematic analysis and synthesis of observations, perceptions, explanations, and actions of the educative leaders at each study school. Site-based, national, and international patterns were identified, summarised, and expressed as common themes. In addition, the values that underpinned the purposes of education at each site and the values educative leaders used to justify their actions were also identified. Having completed such an analysis, mapped patterns, and plotted value justifications, this research project is taken to its practical conclusion in this chapter.

The shared context and common nature of valued educative leadership across selected, diverse indigenous schools, expressed as themes in the previous chapter, is reconstructed here in the form of provisional theories. This articulation of theories-in-use in indigenous schools was facilitated by an eclectic and pragmatic approach (Ogilvie, 1992; Hoy, 1994) as explained in Chapter Four. Used in this process were elements of the grounded theory approach (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) and theory building from case studies (Eisenhardt, 1989) in conjunction with a coherentist, holistic (Evers & Lakomski, 1991 & 1995) approach to theory development and justification. Theories are viewed eclectically as descriptive, explanatory, and practical devices that provide insight into, and increase understanding of, reality. Thus, theories serve the function of guiding action and improving decision-making. Theories expressed here are intended to offer a mapping of the territory (Hughes, 1990) within which educative leaders of indigenous schools operate, enabling them to better understand and serve their school communities.

Consideration is also given in this chapter to the relevance of previous theorising in Educational Administration to theory building in indigenous school communities. Although largely inapplicable, some theorising is seen to be of use in indigenous schools. The chapter

concludes with a review of subsidiary issues arising from the research and recommendations for further investigation.

### **Theories of Educative Leadership in Indigenous Schools**

Prior to introducing the provisional theories of educative leadership that emerged from this research, it may be helpful to review the sequence of procedures employed to arrive at their articulation. These processes began with the selection of research questions. A qualitative approach employing case study analysis was deemed appropriate for attending to these questions. The search for patterns across national and international sites was initially shaped by relevant constructs and categories referred to in a broad range of enfolding literature. Constructs and categories identified prior to the field research were compared with those that emerged during the field research. Comparing emergent constructs and categories across sites with extant literature increased their validity and generalisability. This iterative process revealed patterns and themes, identified in Chapter Six, that were common to all national and international sites. Each of the common themes is expressed below in propositional form as a theory.

Reflecting the interrelated themes illustrated by Figure 6.2 (p. 206) in Chapter Six, the provisional theories of educative leadership that emerged from this research are not discrete, independent theories. Rather, in consonance with the holism that characterises indigenous cultures, these provisional theories are better understood as a suite of interrelated components. Together, these theories form a provisional meta-theory of educative leadership in indigenous schools.

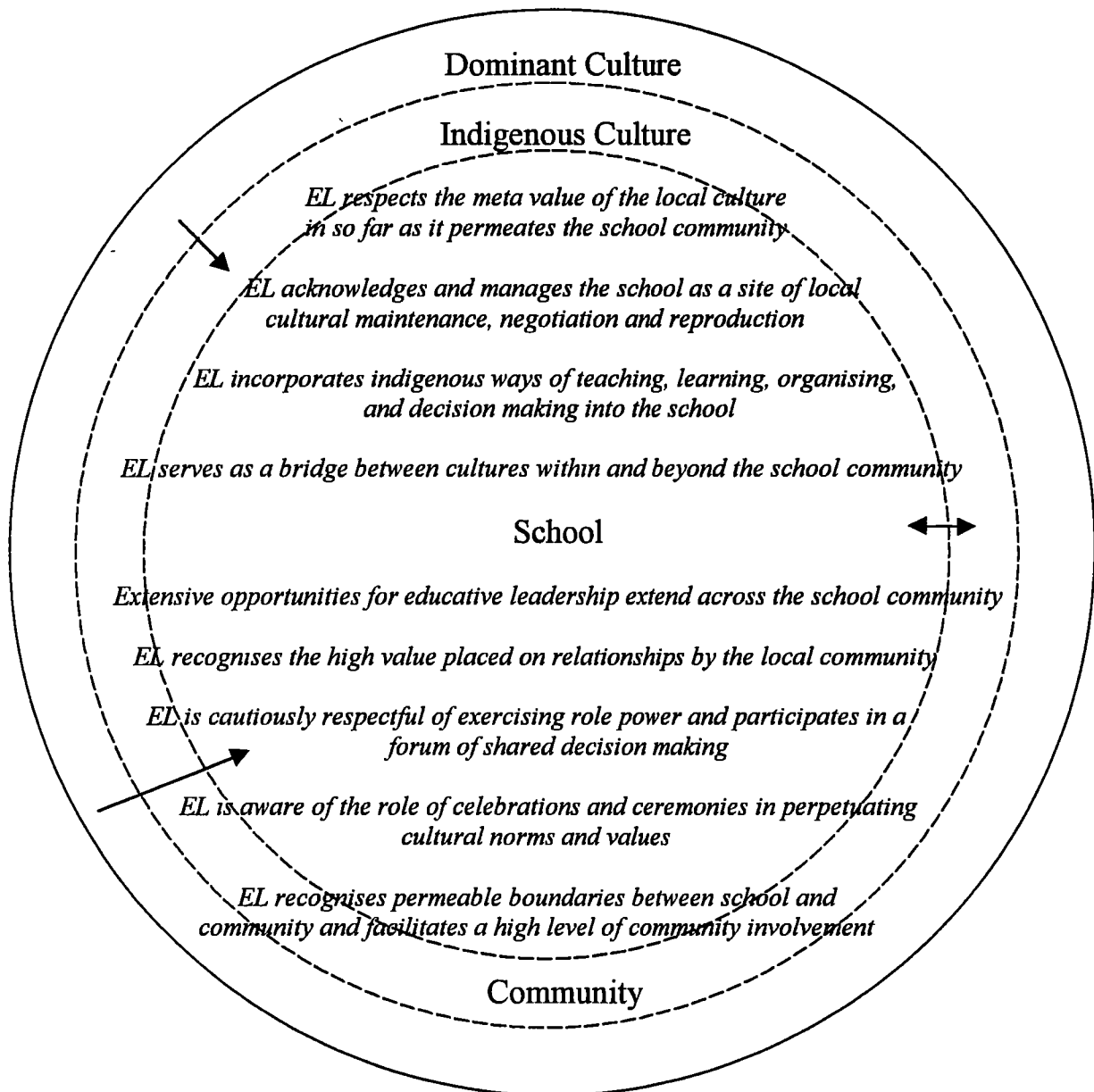
Educative leadership in indigenous schools:

- recognises and respects the paramount importance of the local culture as it permeates the school community;
- acknowledges the school as a site of local cultural maintenance, negotiation, and reproduction;
- is aware of and incorporates indigenous ways of teaching, learning, organising, and decision making into the school;
- serves as a bridge between cultures and extends beyond the school walls throughout the community;
- offers extensive opportunities for leadership within the school and across the school community;

- recognises permeable boundaries between school and community and facilitates a high level of community involvement;
- acknowledges the importance of relationships and the high value placed on relationships by the local culture;
- is aware of the role of celebrations, ceremonies and rituals in validating and perpetuating local cultural norms and values; and
- is cautiously respectful of exercising role power and participates in a forum of shared power and leadership.

The interrelationships between these theories and the school, community, and wider culture are illustrated below in Figure 7.1. The dotted lines indicate permeable boundaries. Arrows indicate the predominant directions of influence. Field research suggested that influences flow both ways between the school and the community. Whereas there was evidence of the dominant culture's influence upon the indigenous community and the school, no substantial evidence was gathered to suggest that the school and community influenced the dominant culture.

**Figure 7.1 - A Model of Integrated Theories of Educative Leadership (EL) in Use in Selected Indigenous Schools.**



The processes involved in selecting and justifying these theories will now be described.

### **Justification of Theory Selection**

It has been noted that the provisional theories outlined above were justified using an eclectic approach influenced by the criteria for generating and evaluating a grounded theory from Strauss



and Corbin (1990) and Eisenhardt's (1989) approach to theory building from case-study research, as briefly explained below. As well, the process of theory justification borrows heavily from the research of Evers and Lakomski (1991 & 1995) on the coherentist approach to theory selection and justification.

First, Strauss and Corbin (1990) refined the approach Glaser and Strauss (1967) introduced for generating grounded theory from data. Their strategy was adopted for this study to further develop my awareness of the subtleties of meaning in the data. Referred to as "increasing theoretical sensitivity" (Strauss & Corbin), this was accomplished by reviewing relevant literature, reflecting on my own professional and personal experience, and by the analytic processes of data collection and analysis. As in the discovery of grounded theory, constructs and categories were identified and validated by constantly comparing emergent data with relevant literature and with data previously gathered from all sites. This constant comparative method (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) limited the coding of constructs into categories that suggested rather than tested theoretical properties. Clearly, as stated by Glaser and Strauss, the constant comparative method is concerned with generating categories, properties, and hypotheses about phenomena. No attempt is made with this method to provisionally test or logically 'prove' the emergent theory. Appropriately applied to qualitative data, this method was employed to facilitate an analysis of the perspectives of the participants in this study.

Strauss and Corbin's (1990) approach to generating, and their criteria for evaluating, a grounded theory share much in common with Eisenhardt's (1989) strategy for building theories from case study research. Of critical importance to both, and adhered to in this study, is the restriction of any generalisations or conclusions from going beyond evidence present in the data. Common themes and the theories they conveyed were consistently and fully supported by the data. Partial evidence of the common themes revealed across national and international sites was presented in Chapter Five. That evidence, and more, was analysed and synthesised in Chapter Six. An analysis of enfolding literature, reviewed in Chapter Three, further supported and validated emergent categories. The strengths of the research methods employed were described in Chapter Four.

Also emphasising that theoretical statements be consistent with, and not surpass, the evidence upon which they are based, Evers and Lakomski (1991 & 1995) refined an approach to theory selection and justification. Outlined in Chapter Four, they posited a coherence theory of evidence that delineated how theories are selected and justified according to the degree to which they cohere with the evidence. Evers and Lakomski (1991 & 1995) maintained that cohering

with the evidence entailed that theories were selected according to how thoroughly they satisfied the six coherence criteria known as the extra-empirical virtues of simplicity, consistency, coherence, comprehensiveness, conservativeness, and fecundity. The provisional theories expressed above are considered next in light of these criteria.

Discussion of these criteria begins with the criterion of coherence. This criterion is regarded as the supreme criterion (Evers & Lakomski, 1991 & 1995) because it regulates the other criteria by requiring they cohere with one another and that they share the same explanatory resources. First, supporting evidence for the themes shared across all sites was found in the literature. Second, Chapters Three, Five, and Six provided iterative linkages between the relevant literature and themes that emerged from the field research. Third, a review of literature on indigenous world views demonstrated the influence of indigenous epistemologies, ontologies, and axiologies on ways of organising, teaching, and learning.

Commonalities of indigenous world views also underpinned similar ways of knowing and valuing across indigenous cultures. Hodgkinson's (1978, 1983, 1991, & 1996) values paradigm proved helpful when analysing the predominate values that had been used to justify purpose and administrative activity at each study school. Across all sites purposes and actions were largely justified at the highest, most principled, ideological level of value. Theories derived from common themes that became known during the field research and were supported by the literature also shared a consistency with world views across all sites. In their coherence with one another and with indigenous accounts of knowing, learning, and valuing, this suite of interconnected theories satisfied Evers and Lakomski's requirement of coherence.

In addition to being consistent with indigenous holistic world views of an interdependent universe (Ermine, 1995; Walker, 1990; Harris, 1990), theories of educative leadership that emerged from this research possessed the other extra-empirical virtues. They were simple in that they could be understood without an extensive repertoire of analytic skills or explanatory resources that draw on other, more complex theories. Being aware of the role of celebrations and ceremonies in perpetuating cultural norms and values exemplifies this criterion. Sensitivity to the purposive nature of celebrations and ceremonies requires no prerequisite training or analytic skill set apart from possessing a sociological imagination. Therefore, the provisional theories of educative leadership may be reasonably understood and used by practitioners and theorists familiar with or soon to be engaged with indigenous communities.

Each of the interdependent theories is consistent with all the others in several respects. They all enjoy a shared underlying values base. They are all used in cultures that share similar

ways of understanding, being, and valuing in the world. There was evidence of each of the theories-in-use at every study site. Exceptions to their usage were only in instances of individual oversight or disregard. In the case of each exception, evidence of the theory was present in the setting and either not respected or not adequately acknowledged by the educative leader. In such instances, failing to acknowledge the prevalent theory-in-use contributed to an interhierarchical values conflict. In all cases, conflict resolution appeared to have been reached by the departure of the educative leader.

Theories-in-use found at each site were comprehensive in that either when regarded as an interdependent suite or considered individually, each one was imbued with considerable explanatory power. For instance, to say that educative leadership acknowledges and manages the school as a site of local cultural maintenance, negotiation, and reproduction explains many of the actions and priorities of the administrator with respect to his or her roles within the school and the outside community. It also accounts for, in part, the rationale for programme choice and curricular implementation within the school.

These theories were also conservative in that each was firmly supported with evidence found at more than one source within each school community and with evidence that was supported in the literature. Thus, through these various means of triangulation, all theories were supported by common themes evident at all sites.

The criterion of fecundity was satisfied by each of these provisional theories in that each separately, and profoundly when taken together, explained many of the observed phenomena at every school in this study. Simply recognising the high value placed on relationships in indigenous communities alerts one to the limitations and perhaps perils of bureaucratic forms of organisation in those contexts.

Together, the coherence criteria of Evers and Lakomski (1991 & 1995) and the approaches described by Strauss and Corbin (1990) and Eisenhardt (1989) strengthen the justification for the theories generated by this research. Furthermore, each of the theories generated also satisfies the four requisite properties of a practically applicable grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). The practical application of a theory entails that the theory fits the substantive area of usage and that it is understandable by practitioners. The theory must also be able to be generalised within the substantive area and that it must offer the user of the theory some control during daily situations and over the course of time (p. 237). Generated from evidence gathered at each site and supported by relevant literature, each theory clearly fits the context of its usage. The simplicity of these theories allows them to be easily understandable. Their coherence with each

other and with indigenous world views extends their generalisability to a variety of phenomena within indigenous school communities. Finally, serving as maps that guide leadership activity, these theories provide educative leaders a degree of control over structures and processes in and impacting upon indigenous schools.

### **Relevance of Previous Theorising in Educational Administration**

In Chapter Three of this study, literature on indigenous world views and their impact on organisational forms as they relate to education was juxtaposed with literature on educational leadership from practical and theoretical perspectives. An argument was presented suggesting that previous research on school leadership had little relevance to theorising in indigenous education contexts. It appeared that neither literature on the principalship nor on theory development in Educational Administration had been written or informed by an analysis of theory and practice in indigenous settings. Stemming from largely incompatible world views, theorising about leadership in Educational Administration appeared to have little transferability from Western to indigenous cultures. Certainly, a large and diverse body of literature argues against theory transference across cultures (Riggs, 1964; Greenfield, 1975; Kiggundu, Jorgensen, & Hafsi, 1983; MacNeill 1985; Newton, 1985; Harber, 1993; Harber & Dadey, 1993; Hallinger, 1995). However, in spite of the incompatibilities between Western and indigenous world views and the unsound practice of transferring theories across cultures, aspects of theorising in Educational Administration may be of service in indigenous education settings. The relevance of previous theorising in Educational Administration to theory development about leadership in indigenous education contexts, is therefore now considered. Literature referred to in this section was reviewed in Chapter Three.

Clearly, the theories derived from this research do not fit with the research program of the orthodox theorists. They elude the criteria of the sought after grand theory of Educational Administration. Further, they have no grounding in empirical laws that can be derived by logico-mathematical procedures. As described earlier, the philosophical foundations of indigenous societies stand in stark contrast to those that underpinned positivistic notions of science that guided the theory movement in Education Administration. It was therefore argued that a general theory of administration or theorising within the positivistic paradigm would have little use in indigenous schools.

Furthermore, the theories that emerged from this research are context specific to indigenous schools. They are not transferable to other contexts. The argument against transferring theories

from one cultural context to another was strengthened by T. B. Greenfield (1975, 1979, 1991, 1993a, & 1993b). His work emphasised the interpretation of action based on subjective meanings and supported theorising within individual and cultural belief structures. Thus, he provided the theoretical basis for the cultural perspective.

As noted in Chapter Three, the cultural perspective is compatible with the holistic nature of indigenous world views. Neither cultures nor indigenous world views can be decontextualised. They do not have component parts that can be analysed (Taylor, 1986). Both must be considered holistically. Both are interrelated systems of beliefs, ideologies, and values that together constitute an integrated whole.

This overview of the cultural perspective suggests that such a perspective appears to have some relevance for theorising in indigenous schools. Cultural norms and values and the content of belief systems vary from one culture to another. A consistent finding of this study was that educative leaders were expected to have an understanding of the local culture. Their understanding must be sufficient enough to enable them to recognise and respect the meta value of the local culture as it is permeated throughout the school community.

Although a criticism of the cultural perspective was that it provided the theoretical tools for administrators to control or manipulate the culture of a school (Angus, 1995), such a criticism has little currency in the context of this study. It was made clear the culture that infused indigenous schools was largely beyond the control of the administrator. Administrative control and manipulation of the local culture was limited to negotiating and maintaining it within the school. Choosing to seek more control over the local culture entailed an interhierarchical values conflict that was invariably resolved by the termination of the administrator's contract.

Similarly, the critical theorists' view of Educational Administration as a technology of control (Bates, 1983) should also be reconsidered in light of the limited power and authority that educative leaders of indigenous schools are able to exercise. Although there are abundant opportunities for educative leadership in indigenous school communities, such leadership does not equate with the extensive use of power or authority.

Whereas the cultural perspective validated theorising on educative leadership in indigenous schools, Hodgkinson's (1978, 1983, 1991, 1993, & 1996) philosophical approach provided a means of analyzing values and value conflicts encountered in the administration of indigenous schools. Used in this research, Hodgkinson's values paradigm classified the values that underpinned both the purposes of the schools and the justifications of their educative leaders' actions. As perceived by their leaders and other stakeholders, the purposes of the study schools

were primarily ideological. Correspondingly, the educative leaders justified their actions on mainly ideological foundations firmly grounded on the highest level, of Type I, transrational values.

Hodgkinson (1991) can also be credited with positing a familial model as an alternative to the bureaucratic model of educational organisation. He proposed that a familial form of organisation would avoid various illnesses of bureaucracy, or bureaupathologies, and also maintain the equitable treatment of all members of the organisation. Conclusions drawn from the research undertaken for this study strongly suggest that familial forms of organising have viable potential for indigenous schools. Familial referents were commonly used in the study schools. The high value placed on relationships, particularly familial relationships, was common to all study schools. The Maori concept of *whanau*, roughly translated into English as extended family, was used as an organising principle, to varying degrees, in all the Maori schools studied. In a school in Australia, an Aboriginal group leadership model grounded social interactions and the division of labour on an infrastructure of equitable clan representation. Also based on principles of cooperation and social organisation among and between extended families, this model was considered by some observers to be an emerging, viable model of leadership in Aboriginal schools. Considered together, this evidence supports the relevance of a familial alternative to the bureaucratic model of school organisation.

Also of theoretical and methodological relevance to theorising in indigenous education contexts is the approach taken by Duignan and Macpherson (1992) and other participating theorists during the course of the Educative Leadership Project (ELP) in Australia. A premise of the ELP, also adopted in this study, was that leadership in education should be educative. Rather than referring to leadership that is educational, implying arising from the process of education, leadership that is educative has connotations of being conducive to or having the capacity of educating.

In their belief that school leadership should focus on what is worthwhile and worth doing, the authors of the ELP were concerned with the analysis of values operating in school communities. Therefore, in the ELP, as well as in this study, Hodgkinson's (1978, 1983, 1991, 1993, & 1996) contribution to theorising on values and administration was required to clarify the values that underpinned purposes and actions. Certainly, given that a major role of educative leaders in indigenous schools is to act as a bridge between cultures, it is vitally important that they understand the values at play in both cultures. Being a bridge between cultures involves resolving intercultural value conflicts. Educative leaders should be able to answer Greenfield's

(1993b) question, “effectiveness for what, leadership towards what, change to what good purpose, and implementation of whose values, and with what justification” (p. 163)?

Compatible also with researching the nature of leadership in indigenous schools was the ELP perspective of organisations as cultures; shared systems of assumptions, values, interpretations, and meanings. In this study of leadership in indigenous schools, the meta value of the local culture permeated the school communities. The schools themselves were showcases of the local culture. Every school strongly conveyed a sense of a cultural organisation. Each school was uniquely indigenous. Examples could be seen in the scheduling of the school calendar to accommodate a community’s annual trip to a seaweed camp in BC, incorporating marae and whanau structures into the organisation of schools in NZ, or dividing the duties of a principal among five members of a leadership team in NT. In several instances when asked to describe the school, participants in this study simply gave a one word response, “culture.” This evidence strongly suggests that many stakeholders and participants in the indigenous schools researched in this study shared perspectives with the authors of the ELP that emphasised the cultural reality of school organisations.

Another assumption that guided the research design of the ELP, was that “theory-building about educative leadership should come after new syntheses of experience and theory on major dilemmas of leadership had been generated afresh and tested through in-service activities and analysis” (Duignan & Macpherson, 1992, p.1). This assumption is also of current relevance to theorising on leadership in indigenous schools. In Canada, New Zealand, and Australia the context, content, organisation, policies, and all the interrelated processes impacting upon indigenous education are changing very rapidly. Since this research study began, growing numbers of indigenous groups have, in some areas, been granted political and fiscal control over their tribal areas. Professional control over indigenous education is lagging behind political control. One reason for this is the continuing shortage of trained indigenous teachers and administrators. There have been, nevertheless, gains in this area. Increasingly in Canada, schools have been separating from mainstream provincial education systems and have become independent or Band-operated schools. In 1969 there was only one First Nations-controlled school in all of Canada. In 1998 there were approximately 130 schools in BC controlled by First Nations people and solely enrolled First Nations students (Kavanagh, 1998). This trend is most likely generating new and varied dilemmas as both the literature and the wisdom of prior collective experience have little to offer this emergent area of theory and practice.

Fueling this movement for indigenous control of education are the statistics referred to in Chapter Two that illustrate unacceptably low success rates of indigenous students in mainstream secondary schools. Success rates of indigenous and non-indigenous students are invariably juxtaposed. Depending on one's vantage-point, the juxtaposition often results in anger, embarrassment, and frustration. Increasingly stimulated by mounting evidence, many discussions among practitioners, scholars, and observers are suggesting that current models of student participation, school organisation, and *status quo* approaches to pedagogy in mainstream schools are not meeting the cultural or academic needs of indigenous students.

In light of these developments and realities, there is a corresponding increase in the number and diversity of leadership experiences in indigenous schools. Each alternative to the one-best-system of education brings with it new experiences. Consequently, there are a greater number of conflicts and their resolutions encountered. A lack of evidence in Educational Administration research journals suggests that there has been insufficient theorising on these experiences. It follows that a synthesis of theory and experience is also lacking. However, given this era of rapid change in the education of indigenous peoples and the ensuing increase in opportunities for educative leadership in indigenous contexts, it is important that such a synthesis occur as soon as possible.

Viewed over time it also appears that a pattern has developed regarding the relevance of theorising in Educational Administration and theorising about leadership in indigenous education contexts. Theorising in Educational Administration began with a view of organisations as universal, value-free systems, more closed than open. Gradually, the quest for universalism was replaced by a focus on situational realities. Perspectives of organisations shifted from viewing them as systems with inputs and outputs to viewing them as negotiated cultures with shared systems of beliefs, values, and reproductive processes. Theory development moved away from the search for mathematical proofs that disregarded values, to the adjudication of evidence that embraced values. Thus, it appears that theorising in Educational Administration in general has become more relevant for theorising in indigenous settings. On the other hand, as theories of leadership in indigenous schools have yet to be expressed and represented in the literature, it is important to generate theories, however tentative, that can guide leadership activity in order to better meet the learning needs of all the stakeholders within the school community.



## **The Need for Further Research**

This study has identified a suite of provisional theories-in-use found in selected schools. Their practical application may inform leadership practices and preparatory programmes for educative leaders of indigenous schools. In addition to these theories-in-use, a number of issues were identified during the interviews when participants spoke about problems or challenges that needed to be addressed in their school (Appendix E, Interview Schedule Two, Question 24, p. 264). Although the categories of 'Problems' and 'Challenges' emerged early in the field research, there was not a specific problem or challenge identified that was common to all sites. Nevertheless, each one of the problems identified was considered to have an impact upon the education of indigenous students and therefore deserves particular attention. Worthy of in-depth study, they will only be mentioned here.

Attendance and punctuality issues were mentioned by half of the participants. Given that regular, prompt attendance is widely regarded to be a prerequisite for student success, irregular attendance patterns were a large source of frustration for administrators. Every participant that identified attendance as a problem in his or her school attributed the problem more to the parents or to the resources available to the parents than to their children. Their comments suggest that further research into issues of attendance should be pursued.

Another expressed concern regarded below grade-equivalent reading levels. Several participants in this study noted that the reading levels of indigenous students were often substantially below their grade levels. This phenomenon appears to be of greatest consequence at either ends of the schooling experience. Compounded by irregular attendance, reading levels of indigenous students often get further below grade level the longer they stay in school. The end results are high drop-out rates from high school and statistically poor performances on standardised tests (BC Ministry of Education, 1998a & 1998b).

Standardised testing was another issue raised by participants and observers in each of the international contexts of the study. Discussions of standardised testing included references to inappropriate "yardsticks" and schools teaching failure. Three principals discussed the negative consequences for students reading below grade level. These students experienced failure in classrooms as they continued to read material one or two years below grade level. Constantly experiencing failure eroded their self-esteem. Periodic, standardised tests provided further confirmation that they were "dumb." Standardised tests were regarded as tools of esteem

destruction that served little purpose other than to illustrate the degree to which students who had been set up to fail, were indeed failing.

As indigenous people gain more control over the education of their children, it is reasonable to expect that discussions about standards and standardised testing will increase. There is already a growing body of literature asserting the development of indigenous standards for indigenous schools (Kavanagh, 1998). Articulate, powerful arguments against standardised testing (Levine, 1995; Meier, 1995) will most likely be used by communities that seek to develop their own standards and assessment procedures for evaluating the school performance of their children.

Difficulties with the delivery of secondary school programmes were also expressed. In general, students perform well and are positively engaged in elementary school. However, programme options diminish for older students in small communities. In many cases, there are no alternatives to an academic programme. Appearing to lack relevance to their immediate lives, dropping out of school is the most common course of action. Leaving the support and security of their communities and extended families for increased education opportunities in larger centres is too often unsuccessful. Without familial support structures, they frequently return home. In doing so they tend to regard themselves as failures.

One response to this problem, offered by a principal in the study, would be to develop partnerships between the school and community businesses or organisations. She considered schooling to be a community issue and school problems to be community problems. Here, she argued, was a problem the school alone could not solve and it was up to the community to assume some responsibility for resolving this difficulty. She was willing to take it upon herself as the principal of the school to initiate the partnership. Once again, community development was an implied role of the educative leader.

Another issue that has a profound impact on indigenous schools is community consensus. Given that the boundaries between school and community are extremely permeable, influences felt outside the school are also felt inside. Extended family structures help convey influences through both school and community. The same structures that unite a community can also divide it. Rowse (1992) observed how traditional Aboriginal social structures did not operate effectively in untraditional social circumstances. He was commenting on the limited degree of social order in artificially created communities. His conclusion was that modern, imposed, permanent settlements contained a population mix that traditionally would not congregate for a

prolonged period in one place. Maintaining social order in such circumstances outran the traditional rules and resources for social organisation.

Rowse's (1992) study came to mind when a principal participating in this research identified community consensus as the biggest challenge facing his school. His was an extreme case in which the community was equally divided over a hotly contested political issue. The need for a community focus on where the community wanted to go was his solution to the problem of reuniting the community and the school. He felt that establishing a vision for the school was futile if it was not compatible with that of the community.

There is sufficient evidence to indicate that a lack of community consensus hinders the pace of progress in indigenous schools. More research is required in this area to ascertain viable means of increasing consensus in indigenous communities and thereby increasing school effectiveness, regardless of the standards employed.

As mentioned in Chapter Six, several of the study schools included in this research were undergoing structural and ideological transitions as their staffs became increasingly indigenous and decreasingly European. With the shift in personnel came a shift in ideology. A principal in NZ described coping with this ideological shift for her staff to be the most difficult problem with which to contend. Whether Maori or Pakeha, she described this transition as "a hell of an upheaval." She described it as "culture shock" for teachers. One of her responsibilities was to work with her staff to dissipate their fear during the transition.

Given the rapid changes from within and without impacting upon indigenous schools, coping with transitions will certainly be a requisite skill for any educators participating in them. Educative leaders for these schools need to be sensitive to the process of change. They need to understand how change occurs and convey that understanding, with reassurance to their staff, in order that they can manage the change in concert with the shared vision of the school/community.

Lack of staff continuity is an example of a critical area of change management. Principals of BC and NT schools explicitly referred to teacher continuity as a major problem. Although not specifically stated as a problem by NZ principals, the phenomenon appeared to be present there as well. In response to the frequent changeover of teaching staff, several principals commented on the compensatory value of principal longevity. Thus, year after year, principals would have to induct teachers into the school community. Further, incoming teachers were most often inexperienced teachers. In these schools, to a greater extent than many other types of schools, principals had to assume an educative role with novice teachers. These teachers needed more support and mentoring than that required for new teachers in mainstream schools. The permeable

boundaries between school and community, and the bicultural emphasis of the school, also required that the teachers become educated about the local culture.

Educating Boards of Trustees or Education Council members is generally not considered an instructional role of principals either. However, lack of Trustee expertise was identified as a problem for several principals in this study. Teaching Trustees how the school system worked and, in some cases, teaching Trustees about their roles as Trustees, were also mentioned as educative roles of principals of indigenous schools. Linking Trustee expertise with student achievement, the New Zealand Ministry of Education (1998) has recognised the need to improve the training and experience of Boards of Trustees. To that end initiatives have been implemented to provide Trustees with formal training and preparation. Similar training is provided to Trustees of district school boards in BC and NT. However, such training is not available for Education Council members of Band-operated or independent First Nations schools in BC or remote or independent Aboriginal schools in NT. The task of educating Council members in these schools is largely assumed by the principal. Given the important role of Education Councils in governing schools, and the increasing number of community-controlled indigenous schools, more formal methods of providing training need to be considered.

Several principals mentioned family pressures on teachers as a major problem. Although a familial model has earlier been suggested as an alternative to the bureaucratic model of school organisation, some cautions merit attention. Clearly, loyalty to family is valued higher than loyalty to bureaucracy or, in most cases, loyalty to the school. In instances when teachers and other staff members are from the community, there are often situations in which the needs of the school conflict with the needs of the extended family. Familial obligations put considerable pressure on teachers to address family problems at the expense of meeting their teaching responsibilities. Principals must be sensitive to these pressures and must attempt to help facilitate a positive outcome for both family and school. To deny a teacher his or her duty to meet familial obligations would apparently create an interhierarchical values conflict between the transrational commitment to family and the rational, consequential commitment to the school. In these cases, commitment to school comes after commitment to family. Hence, principals must be flexible in accommodating familial obligations. They must also assume an educative and culture-bridging role within the wider community, as they communicate that both the needs of family and the requirements of consistency and continuity are met within the school.

Leader stress and burnout, referred to earlier, is another issue in indigenous schools. As mentioned in Chapter Six, a disturbing number of indigenous educative leaders, out of a

relatively small sample, were found to be on stress leave during this research. One principal attributed a great deal of stress to having to cope with pressures associated with accommodating extended family obligations. Also stressful, is the task of bridging two cultures. Managing the bicultural tensions involved in such bridging entails prolonged, intense cognitive and emotional engagement. Further research is required into the phenomenon of leader stress and burnout.

Finally, the culture-bridging role of school leaders in indigenous schools, continually referred to throughout this study, is enormously complicated and the complexities involved should not be underestimated. In order to bridge two cultures, those people who choose to be educative leaders in bicultural contexts must have a sophisticated understanding of both cultures in order to manage the complex transactions constantly occurring. It is imperative that they also have an understanding of how cultures change in order to manage that change. School cultures are negotiated realities. Negotiating the emergent reality of a bicultural school requires having an understanding of both past and present traditions of each culture and a shared vision of the desired emergent culture. These involve ideological considerations. Educative leaders must also have sufficient theoretical knowledge and practical expertise in order to implement the vision into a future reality. These leaders must exercise praxis (Hodgkinson, 1983), that is, they must combine reflection and action when combining theory, values, and practices. Therefore, graduate programs of Educational Administration, if they are to prepare leaders for indigenous settings, should include components that focus on the philosophical realm of leadership as well the practical application of theory. Further, given the complexities involved in cultural negotiation, it is of critical importance that leaders for indigenous schools receive some training in values analysis and cultural analysis.

It has been shown that many of the problems and challenges identified by principals across all sites have to do with the wider school community rather than being confined to the school. Once again, this underlines the permeable boundaries between school and community and the extension of the educative leadership role beyond the school. Such permeable boundaries and the extended leadership roles they precipitate, compound the challenges to, and opportunities for, educative leadership in indigenous schools. If theories are guides, and we need them as “sources of concepts and categories to make sense of the blooming confusion of phenomena around us” (Evers & Lakomski, 1991, p.78), then clearly they are needed to help guide administrative activity in indigenous schools.

## Summary

This chapter began with a review of the procedures employed to identify common themes across all national and international sites. A suite of interrelated theories, derived from the common themes, was then presented. These theories were justified by borrowing from approaches recommended by Strauss and Corbin (1990), Eisenhardt (1989), and Evers and Lakomski (1991 & 1995). The theories were then considered in light of previous theorising in Educational Administration. The final section of this chapter identified issues for further investigation.

The following and final chapter provides a summary of the findings. Tentative conclusions are drawn and practical and theoretical implications of the research are presented.

## **CHAPTER EIGHT**

### **CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **Introduction**

This chapter presents a summary of the study providing a synopsis of each chapter. Discoveries are highlighted and links are made with previous chapters and the literature. Conclusions are drawn and practical and theoretical implications of the findings are presented. The chapter concludes with recommendations and issues for further research.

#### **Study Précis**

This study was an exploration into the nature of valued educative leadership services in indigenous schools in Canada, New Zealand, and Australia. A purpose of this research was to generate theories of educative leadership in use in indigenous schools. This purpose was served by identifying site-based, national and international patterns, and expressing them first as themes and then, reconstructing them as theories. Values identification was integral to this methodology. This included analysing the values that underpinned the purposes of education at each site, and the values educative leaders used to justify their actions.

#### **Context of the Research**

It was assumed from the outset that education is both a political and cultural activity within an historical context. This meant that in order to discern and understand features of indigenous education in these international contexts, an understanding was required of their colonial and educational histories. Although dates of initial contact between indigenous peoples and Europeans varied by nearly 300 years among these countries, the patterns of colonialism were similar. This was not surprising as, prior to self-government, the Colonial Office in London dictated international policy. Following independence, the succession of overlapping policy periods enacted and experienced by each country were much the same. Thus, commonalities of indigenous and non-indigenous relationships continued independently in each national context.

A common international trend in indigenous education has been a shift away from the unquestioning reproduction of the dominant, Western European culture of mainstream society to a more bicultural orientation. Thus, aspects of indigenous cultures are selected and blended with

aspects of the broader societies. This shift in emphasis reasonably suggests a need for educative leaders to facilitate and manage changes in the teaching and learning that occurred within these schools.

It follows, for the purpose of the research represented here, that, in order to support these changes, ways of administering and leading may also have to be different. If the administration of indigenous schools is to be done differently than in non-indigenous schools, then an understanding of their particular administrative context is a prerequisite to the change process.

There are other reasons why such research was considered timely and valuable. Of increasing concern are the disparities in success rates between indigenous and non-indigenous students despite years of investigation and countless innovative programmes. Extensive research has been conducted in teaching, learning, and curriculum development in indigenous schools. However, little research has been done in the area of educational leadership. This study was therefore undertaken with the intention of informing administrative practice and influencing the preparation of principals for indigenous schools to better serve the learning needs of their students and colleagues.

The research design involved case studies of schools that solely enrolled indigenous students. Four schools were selected in each of Northern Territory (NT), Australia; British Columbia (BC), Canada; and in the greater Auckland area of New Zealand (NZ). They were selected as broadly representative of their type of school after extensive consultations and negotiations, in particular with indigenous scholars and practitioners. The principals of these schools were the main informants in the inquiry and were observed and interviewed at length.

## **Literature Review**

A review of the literature on indigenous world views and their consequences for teaching, learning, organising, managing, and theorising was presented in Chapter Three. Delineated also was an outline of the history of theory development in Educational Administration. Consideration was given to literature on the principalship as well. Juxtaposed, it became apparent that neither the literature on the principalship nor on theory development in Educational Administration has been informed by, or written for informing, theory and practice in indigenous contexts. However, there have been aspects of various theoretical, philosophical, and methodological approaches developed in recent decades in Educational Administration that might be of use in indigenous contexts.



An overview of indigenous world views revealed that there were many similarities in how indigenous peoples conceptualised ways of being, valuing, and knowing. These similarities stood in sharp contrast to their collective differences with Western European methods. It appeared that all things within indigenous world views were related and best understood within the context of their relatedness. Conversely, the Western world view had a tendency toward compartmentalisation and understanding wholes by analysing their component parts.

Research also indicated that indigenous world views had practical and theoretical implications for the contemporary education of indigenous students. Strong evidence supported the notion that there were differences in learning styles between indigenous and non-indigenous learners (Hughes & More, 1993). It followed that different learning styles would need to be supported by similarly different approaches to educative leadership.

In spite of a plethora of literature on the principalship it was soon apparent that the knowledge and advice proffered had little relevance to indigenous schools. The divergent bicultural purposes of indigenous schools were not reflected by the *status quo*; a largely monocultural approach to researching the principalship. Furthermore, the absence of research on leadership and the lack of preparatory programmes for principals of indigenous schools potentially undermined the capacity of indigenous peoples to assume fundamental and professional control over the schooling of their children.

A review of the literature established that the epistemological base upon which theorising in Educational Administration was developed contrasted sharply with that of indigenous societies. In brief, theorising in Educational Administration can be located on an epistemological, axiological continuum with Western notions of atomistic science and empirical facts at one end, and indigenous holistic world views and their culture-specific values at the other. Clearly, such polarised philosophical foundations limit the usefulness of orthodox, positivistic views of Educational Administration for theorising in indigenous settings.

In recent decades the positivist foundations of theorising in Educational Administration have been deconstructed. Values have been reunited with facts. Schools are viewed as moral orders. The practice of Educational Administration tends now to be regarded as a moral art (Hodgkinson, 1991) rather than an empirical science. Organisations, and the administrative structures within them, are recognised as cultural artifacts. The transference of theories from one national or cultural context to another can be regarded as cultural imperialism. Theorists have abandoned the search for universal theories in favour of explanations that take into account particular economic and cultural contexts.

This current state of theory development in Educational Administration is increasingly conducive to theorising in indigenous contexts. It followed that theorising in Educational Administration in indigenous settings might be undertaken to narrow the gaps between ways of teaching, learning, organising, and leading. Furthermore, such theorising could help to develop the necessary theoretical infrastructure to resolve issues of equity and self-determination called for by indigenous people.

## **Methodology**

Elaborated in Chapter Four, this study adopted a qualitative and exploratory approach to researching schools and their leaders. A research question was refined: What attributes of educative leadership were shared among culturally and geographically disparate indigenous communities? A non-foundational, pragmatic methodology was used to conduct this research. This allowed for an eclectic and non-preferential approach to the acceptance of knowledge claims (Evers & Lakomski, 1991). Ethnographic research strategies were used, including interviewing, observing, and participating during one-week periods in each school community. A provisional conceptual framework was developed from the literature to guide the field research. This framework was revised after entry to the field when components were added, as themes emerged during the research, and after analysis of the data. Data were gathered from each site, verified, and compared nationally and then internationally across all sites and analysed for commonalities.

There were considerable logistical challenges conducting this study from Tasmania, thousands of kilometres from any of the data-gathering sites. Electronic media facilitated fast and efficient communication between Tasmania, contacts in each national context, and electronic data bases. Logistical details such as time of school year, location of school, school events, community ceremonies, transportation, and accommodation during the research had to be carefully considered before beginning the field research. Two interview schedules were developed to gather required data. All data collected were coded and analysed to identify emergent constructs and categories. Recognising bias and possible limitations, and taking measures to reduce them, were a part of this study from the outset.

## **Preliminary Analysis**

An overview and preliminary analysis of the findings gathered during the field research was presented in Chapter Five. Site contexts were further developed with profiles of the schools and their principals. Following these profiles were the principals' descriptions of their schools. Most

of this chapter was a compilation of cameos of each school emphasising principals' perceptions of their schools and of the nature of leadership within them.

### **Summary of School Sites**

Although separated by distance and pronounced cultural and organisational differences, several dominant, overlapping themes emerged that were common to all study schools. Most conspicuous among them was the importance of the local culture and the role of the school and the principal in reproducing and maintaining that culture. Respect for, sensitivity to, and knowledge of the local culture was a standard expectation of the principal. Boundaries between the school and outside community were permeable from within and without. Principals' roles extended throughout the community. Social structures from the community were prevalent within the schools. For example, it was notable that relationships within these schools were based on principles of familial organisation and local notions of fairness.

## **Analysis and Synthesis of Data**

Chapter Six presented an analysis and synthesis of data gathered. Site-based, national and international patterns were identified, aggregated, and expressed as common themes. In addition, the values that underpinned the purposes of education at each site and the values educative leaders used to justify their actions were also identified. A synthesis of common themes found at BC, NZ, and NT study schools revealed that ten major themes were common to all international sites.

### **Culture**

The importance of the local culture was the paramount meta-value across all sites. The value of the culture was unquestioned to the extent that it was beyond dispute or contention. The local culture, above all else, shaped the administrative context of educative leaders. The culture permeated the school, relationships within the school and relationships between the school and community.

### **Purpose**

Cultural reproduction was a major function of education at all sites. Most schools had a bicultural focus. The degrees to which cultural reproduction and biculturalism were the explicit purposes of the school varied across sites.

### **Indigenous Ways of Teaching, Learning, Organising, and Decision Making**

This theme was present in all sites but less so in BC than in NZ and NT. Elders were engaged as teachers and consensual decision-making models were present to varying degrees in all the indigenous schools reviewed in this study.

### **Roles**

The educative roles of the leaders of the selected study schools extended beyond the school throughout the community and included educating parents, Education Council, Trustees, and community members. Liaising between cultures was an important role expressed by all the educative leaders.

### **Expectations and Attributes**

Sensitivity to, knowledge of and respect for the indigenous culture were prerequisites for the effectiveness and success of the principal.

### **Leadership Scope and Context**

Extensive opportunities for educative leadership spanned the entire school community.

### **Community**

A high level of community involvement was evident at every school. Boundaries between school and community appeared extremely permeable. To varying degrees, social structures operating in the community were incorporated into the school.

### **Relationships**

The importance of relationships, particularly familial relationships both past and present and relationships with places and nature, was evident at all sites. The emphasis on relationships attested to the indigenous holistic world-view that was embodied by a belief in the relatedness of all things.

### **Celebrations, Ceremonies, and Rituals**

Celebrations, ceremonies, and rituals were used across all sites as a means of reinforcing and validating indigenous cultural norms and values.

## **Power and Authority**

Power and authority were exercised cautiously by all educative leaders. An espoused notion of shared power was variously manifested at each school.

## **Discussion**

To reiterate briefly, the overriding image of 'school' to emerge from the analysis, was one of the school as a familial place and a recognised site of cultural reproduction. An unquestioned commitment to the local culture permeated each school. The local culture was an overarching meta-value that shaped the schools' purposes and defined the administrative context of their educative leaders. In spite of vast cultural differences across these ten national and international school communities, similarities outweighed differences.

Considerable support emerged for Hodgkinson's (1991) view that the roles, expectations, and actions of school leaders are shaped and justified according to the purposes of their organisations. Clarity of organisational purpose, in his view, is of critical importance for educative leaders. He argued that the complex, confusing and sometimes contradictory purposes of schools can be classified according to one of three intertwined, yet distinct strands. The purposes of schools tend to be aesthetic, emphasising self-fulfillment and enjoyment of life; economic, driven by monetary outcomes; or ideological, transmitting the cultural values of society. When viewed in conjunction with Hodgkinson's (1991 & 1996) value model, each purpose has a corresponding value justification.

Hodgkinson (1991) argued that the values underpinning aesthetic purposes tend to be largely based on preferential grounds of value, engage the affective domain, and are below rationality. Those values driving economic purposes are generally utilitarian and are rationalised on either consequential or consensual grounds of value. Ideological purposes are based on principles with religious or existential orientations and are beyond rationality, and according to Hodgkinson, have the 'highest' grounds of value justification.

The evidence gathered in this study indicated that each study school shared the dual purposes of both maintaining, reproducing, and reconstructing the local indigenous culture, and reconciling it with the culture of the wider society. These purposes were supported on ideological, transrational grounds of value. Reported by fewer principals and justified on 'lower' rational grounds of value, were pragmatic purposes, such as increasing English language and math skills and becoming equipped for the future.

As expected, given the largely ideological purposes driving the schools, with one exception, all the educative leaders who participated in this study justified their actions on correspondingly 'high' grounds of value. While most justifications were of ideological, transrational value orientations, rational justifications were also used.

A discussion of theories of leadership in use in indigenous schools was presented in Chapter Seven. The common themes identified in Chapter Six were rephrased in the form of theories-in-use.

### **Theories of Educative Leadership in Indigenous Schools**

In sum, educative leadership in indigenous schools:

- recognises and respects the paramount importance of the local culture as it permeates the school community;
- acknowledges the school as a site of local cultural maintenance, negotiation, and reproduction;
- is aware of and incorporates indigenous ways of teaching, learning, organising, and decision making into the school;
- serves as a bridge between cultures and extends beyond the school walls throughout the community;
- offers extensive opportunities for leadership within the school and across the school community;
- recognises permeable boundaries between school and community and facilitates a high level of community involvement;
- acknowledges the importance of relationships and the 'high' value placed on relationships by the local culture;
- is aware of the role of celebrations, ceremonies and rituals in validating and perpetuating local cultural norms and values; and
- is cautiously respectful of exercising role power and participates in a forum of shared power and leadership.

## **Tentative Conclusions**

### **Implications for Practice**

The limited relevance between Western theoretical perspectives on educational leadership and indigenous world views referred to in Chapter Three was further informed by the field research and briefly revisited in Chapter Seven. Field research consistently confirmed that educative leaders were expected to have a substantive understanding of, and respect for, the local culture.

In instances in which principals attempted to either control or ignore cultural considerations, a values conflict arose between two levels of value. At one level, the principals' positions were supported on grounds of rationality, whereas at a 'higher' level ideological considerations underpinned the perspectives of the local communities. In each case, the principal departed before the school year was through. Clearly, increased opportunities for leadership do not coincide with the extensive personal use of power or authority. This suggests that positional authority is limited in these settings, and that power is legitimated regularly through cultural processes.

### **Implications for Theory**

Hodgkinson's (1978, 1983, 1991, & 1996) values paradigm proved effective at illustrating that both the purposes of the study schools and the justifications used by their educative leaders were, for the most part, firmly grounded on the 'highest' level of ideological, transrational values.

The 'high' value placed on relationships, particularly familial relationships, common to all study schools supported Hodgkinson's (1991) suggestion of a familial model of educational organisation as an alternative to the bureaucratic model. Organisational forms incorporating extended family structures were found at all sites. It can be argued that familial forms of organising have substantial potential for indigenous schools. Familial referents were commonly used in the study schools. The Maori concept of whanau was used as an organising principle, to varying degrees, in all the Maori schools studied. In a school in Australia, an Aboriginal group leadership model grounded social interactions and the division of labour on an infrastructure of equitable clan representation. Also based on principles of cooperation and social organisation among and between extended families, this model was considered by some observers to be an emerging, and viable model of leadership in Aboriginal schools. Considered together, these patterns support a familial alternative to the bureaucratic model of school organisation.

The findings from this research cohered with the pattern of theory evolution in Educational Administration reviewed in Chapter Three. When Educational Administration was formed as a discipline, theorising was based on the assumption that organisations were universal systems. Theoretical discussions included scientific, empirical facts, and excluded values. Eventually, images of organisations as objective systems were replaced by many different images of organisations, including as cultures with shared systems of beliefs and values. Theory development shifted from 'proving' truths to adjudicating evidence. The findings of this study

affirm that these changes have contributed to increasing the relevance of theorising in Educational Administration for indigenous settings.

### **Implications for Further Research**

A number of issues related to the focus of this study became apparent during the course of this research. Since these issues potentially affect the education of indigenous students, they warrant further attention. Further research is recommended in the following practical areas of indigenous education:

- attendance and punctuality issues;
- below grade-equivalent reading levels;
- standardised testing;
- difficulties with the delivery of secondary school programmes;
- the development of community consensus;
- coping with transitions;
- educating Trustees or Education Council members;
- family pressures on teachers; and
- leader stress and burnout.

The methodologies used to research the above issues require careful consideration. Although impacting upon the successful education of indigenous students, each of them has larger, socio-cultural and epistemological implications and derivations beyond the school. Therefore, a recommended research methodology would be one that is grounded in social and cultural research and is pragmatic, eclectic, and above all, holistic. Such a methodology may be developed by adopting a similar approach as that taken during the course of the Educative Leadership Project (Duignan & Macpherson, 1992) in Australia. A synthesis of current developments and experiences in indigenous education could yield theoretical perspectives appropriate for conducting research in those forums. Whatever approach is taken, this study suggests strongly that theoretical approaches must be developed in, not imported into, the contexts in which they are to be used.

### **Concluding Note**

In conclusion, the insights and perspectives shared by the educative leaders who participated in this exploratory research revealed a web of theories of leadership-in-use common to, and probably unique to indigenous schools. Powerful, yet unarticulated, these theories were seen to



impact upon and guide leadership activity in the selected schools. Further research is required to verify and refine these theories. Theory development is important for several reasons. In the process of their development, unspoken assumptions will be expressed. Indigenous cultural norms and values already influencing schools will be further validated as their philosophical foundations are translated into administrative practice. The movement from the unspoken to the spoken and then from philosophy to practice will help to replace the policy rhetoric around indigenous education with enough substance to develop successful, bicultural citizens of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

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UNIVERSITY OF TASMANIA

## APPENDIX A

### LETTER OF INTRODUCTION

*Norman Wicks*

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Dear

It was good to speak with you on the phone this morning. As in my brief telephone conversations with you of last year, you sounded enthused and positive. To convey enthusiasm and such a positive attitude to the other side of the world increases my resolve to meet you and visit your school.

The attached paper outlines my interest and the purpose of my research. This letter serves as an introduction, further explains the study, and seeks your permission to visit your school.

I am a British Columbian teacher on leave from School District No. 91 Nechako Lakes (Vanderhoof, Fraser Lake, Burns Lake, & Fort St. James), currently enrolled at the University of Tasmania doing doctoral research on educational leadership in indigenous schools in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand.

The purpose of the research is to gain further understanding of educational leadership in indigenous schools. Although much has been written about teaching and learning in indigenous schools, little research has been done on leadership within them. It is my belief that if curriculum innovations, organizational structures, teaching strategies and relationships within the school and between the school and community, and other practices which are all identified as addressing student needs, are not understood and supported at the administrative level or leadership level within the school, they will not be effective. Too often, and in spite of good intentions and efforts, indigenous students in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand fall behind their non-indigenous peers in their respective school systems. Often non-indigenous principals are appointed to schools with high percentages of indigenous students. These principals are typically prepared as principals in a non-indigenous, Western context and have little understanding of the local culture. Too often such principals hold notions of leadership and administration which are inconsistent with addressing the needs of the indigenous students within their schools. Hence, I am interested in visiting indigenous schools with indigenous leaders to increase my understanding of, and to begin to articulate, the nature of leadership in indigenous schools that supports the needs of indigenous students.



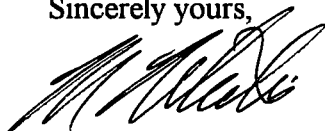
I can assure you that my visit to your School will not disrupt teaching or learning. All research will be conducted and treated with respect, confidentiality, and professionalism. The findings will be shared in confidence with you and any other participants before completion and upon conclusion of the study. No information gathered from your school will be duplicated or shared without your permission. Of course, you have the right to discontinue the research at any time.

If you think this study has merit and would like to participate, please consider a few contributions I would like to offer. First, while I'm at your school my resources are at your disposal to the extent of not breaching the confidentiality of other study schools. Second, as I will be in contact with the principals of participating schools in Canada and New Zealand, if you have specific questions for them, I would be pleased to ask them for you, or following completion of the study, to facilitate networking between you. Third, you will receive a copy of the findings.

Please give my request serious consideration. I would be pleased to answer any further questions. Should you be interested in participating, please share this letter and the enclosed outline with any interested parties or stakeholders.

Thank you for your time and consideration. I will follow this letter up with a phone call within a few weeks.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'N. Wicks', written in a cursive style.

Norman Wicks

## **APPENDIX B**

### **OUTLINE OF THE RESEARCH**

#### **Educative Leadership in Indigenous Schools: Principals' Perceptions and Practices in Indigenous Schools in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand**

##### **Project Aim**

The purpose of this study is to articulate and develop theories of educative leadership in indigenous schools in three Commonwealth countries.

##### **Research Questions**

What is the nature of valued educative leadership service in indigenous schools? What attributes of such leadership are shared among culturally and geographically disparate indigenous communities? Educative leadership is defined as leadership service in a school community intended to improve the quality of teaching and learning.

##### **Background**

Although little work has been done in the area of educative leadership in indigenous schools, a great deal of research has been done on ways of learning and teaching in them. The research literature underlines that the cultures and contexts of learning and education in indigenous communities differ from the Western European models of schooling that dominate the larger societies within which indigenous schools operate. Consequently, it has been found that some ways of teaching are more conducive to promoting learning and attaining selected goals than are others. Given these findings, it is surprising that scant attention has been paid to the area of leadership in indigenous schools.

It is generally accepted that the leadership of a school has a strong influence on the teaching and learning that goes on within it. Few argue that leadership impacts upon every aspect of a school, including the internal culture and its relationship with the outside community, school climate, and student success. Numerous studies of educative leadership continue to be conducted, generating an abundance of prescriptive theories of what constitutes good school leadership. However, virtually all research and theory development on educative leadership is generated in, and for, schools and their leaders belonging to traditional models of schooling typical of the larger society. Hence, characteristics of educative leadership unique to indigenous schools, and of critical importance to the teaching and learning that goes on within them, has been neglected in the literature and not taken into consideration in the development of theories of educative leadership or in the preparation and training of leaders for indigenous schools. As a consequence, theories of leadership have been imported into indigenous schools without consideration for their unique

contexts and without questioning the fit between Western theories of educative leadership and administrative and cultural realities in indigenous communities.

Indigenous schools are unique in many respects. The students within them and the challenges they face and obstacles they must overcome, the relationships these schools have with their communities, parents, community leaders, and cultural practices, the integration of cultural programs into all areas of curriculum, the urgency of keeping the local language alive and of maintaining the integrity of the indigenous culture, and the dual cultural contexts of schooling and of valuing, are just a few of the elements that differentiate them from schools in the wider society. This uniqueness has not been reflected in the literature on educative leadership.

### **Research Plan**

The research plan entails case studies of twelve schools enrolling indigenous students; four in each of Australia, Canada, and New Zealand. Time will be spent in each school community interviewing and observing the principal and other educative leaders in action to understand and explain local notions of educative leadership. With respect to the principal as the designated educative leader in schools; do principals of indigenous schools in widely disparate cultural contexts face uniquely similar problems? Do they use the same theories to solve such problems? Can the same theories be used effectively in more than one context? What aspects of educative leadership are subsumed by the principal? What aspects of educative leadership are subsumed by others? Who? How? How do leadership qualities in indigenous schools contribute to ensuring competencies and skills in both home cultures and cultures outside the home? Data will be gathered from three sites in one country and analyzed for commonalties. A similar approach will be taken in each national context. Data from all sites will be compared to determine shared characteristics.

All research will be conducted and treated with respect, confidentiality, and professionalism. The findings will be shared in confidence with participants before completion and upon conclusion of the study.

### **Significance and Possible Application of Research**

An outcome of this study will be the articulation of practical theories of educative leadership in use in indigenous schools. Once articulated, such theories will be made available to practitioners and theoreticians for further development. Further application will be to inform the daily practice and preparation of school and education system leaders who serve in dual or multicultural contexts. The findings of the research proposed will be of value to the burgeoning number of Aboriginal Australian, First Nations Canadian, and Maori communities striving to manage their own school systems.

It is also anticipated that findings of this study will be of benefit to educative leaders in mainstream schools in the wider societies. Additionally, this study will generate insights into decision-making processes in indigenous communities that may be of benefit in negotiations with the wider societies in domains other than education.

## **APPENDIX C**

### **EDUCATIVE LEADERSHIP IN INDIGENOUS SCHOOLS**

#### **INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARTICIPANTS IN THE RESEARCH**

Sole author: Norman Wicks

You have been invited to take part in the research described below. It is a requirement of the University of Tasmania that participants are informed of the nature of the study and their involvement.

This study will be submitted as a thesis at the Doctoral level to the University of Tasmania. I am the student investigator and will have direct involvement with participants. The research is being conducted under the supervision of Dr. R.J.S. Macpherson, the chief investigator. Further information about the study and details of its status can be obtained from him. Dr. Macpherson can be reached at the above address, by telephone: (003) 24-3489, or by email: Mac.Macpherson@educ.utas.edu.au.

The purpose of the study is to gain further understanding of educative leadership in indigenous schools. Much has been written about teaching and learning in indigenous schools, but little research has been done on leadership within them. Given that leadership influences every aspect of a school, it is surprising that the area has received so little attention. Students in indigenous schools in British Columbia, New Zealand, and Australia face enormous and somewhat similar challenges. Issues of cultural integrity, the urgency to keep local languages alive, integration of cultural programs across the curriculum, etc., are all issues being addressed across the globe. How are similar challenges faced in different cultures and countries? Are there solutions to these challenges that can be used effectively in more than one place?

The research plan requires that at least a week be spent in each school community interviewing and observing the principal and other educative leaders in action. During the week long visit at least two or three interviews will be conducted with consenting principals. Each interview will be approximately 90 minutes long.

The first interview will be of a structured and semi-structured nature to provide a profile of the school and the principal. This interview has three components. The first pertains to generating data regarding the numbers of students and staff in the school and organizational data including whether the school is operated by the government, a religious organization or is band operated. The next component will provide a similar factual profile of the principal pertaining to years of experience, training and cultural affiliation. This part of the interview will lead into the final semi-structured component which will put the principal's experience in context with his or her present position as a principal and an educative leader in a specific school.

The second, and perhaps third interviews, will be semi-structured. Again being approximately 90 minutes long, the purpose here is to elicit details of the principal's present experience and gain an understanding of the principal's perceptions regarding his or her own values, role, power, actions, purpose, context of the school, relationship with the community, problems, and to identify the more widely used metaphors in the school.

Selection of schools was based on three criteria:

- having an indigenous student body;
- preferably having an indigenous principal or designated leader; and
- being within reasonable geographical proximity to one another in each national area.

Within the above parameters the selection of participants was done on a reputational basis. The search for indigenous schools and principals began by questioning departments of education, superintendents and scholars. Thus, I was given the names of schools and principals who satisfied the criteria of being indigenous or being principals of indigenous schools.

An anticipated outcome of this study will be the availability of insights on leadership in indigenous schools that may benefit indigenous students. It is expected that these insights will contribute to ways of addressing challenges in indigenous schools. Further anticipated benefits of the study may be to improve the daily practice and preparation of school and education system leaders who serve in indigenous, bicultural, or multicultural contexts.

I can assure you that while visiting your school I will make every effort to be unobtrusive and nondisruptive of the teaching and learning taking place there. All research will be conducted and treated with respect, confidentiality, and professionalism. The findings will be shared in confidence with participants before completion and upon conclusion of the study. Transcripts of interviews will be returned to interviewees and they will be invited to strike out anything in their interviews which they wish to place off the record, or to correct any errors of fact that may have crept in. No information gathered from your school will be duplicated or shared without your permission. All information will be rendered untraceable. Participation in this study is entirely voluntary and participants can, at any time, withdraw from the study without prejudice.

The results of this study will be published following successful completion and its acceptance for accreditation at the Doctoral level. Following the publication of this study participants will be provided with a copy of the findings.

If participants have any concerns of an ethical nature or complaints about the manner in which the project is conducted they may contact Chris Hooper, Executive Officer, University Ethics Committee, Office for Research, University of Tasmania, Hobart campus, phone: 2022763, fax: 202765.

The study has been approved by the University Ethics Committee. It complies with the norms of ethical approval and the Laws of the State of Tasmania.

Each participant in this study will be given a copy of the information sheet and statement of informed consent.

## STATEMENT OF INFORMED CONSENT

### Title of Project:

### Educative Leadership in Indigenous Schools

I have read and understand the 'Information Sheet' for this study. The nature and possible effects of the study have been explained to me. I understand that the study involves the research methodologies described (comparative case study, observation and interviews). I understand that there are no areas of physical discomfort envisaged as part of this study.

Any questions that I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to participate in this research but understand that I may withdraw at any time without prejudice.

I agree that the research data gathered for the study may be published provided that I cannot be identified as a subject and that I have been given the prior opportunity to approve the material.

Name of participant.....

Signature of participant.....Date.....

I have explained the research project and the implications to the participant and I believe that the consent is informed. Further I believe that he/she understands the implications of participation.

Name of researcher.....

Signature of researcher.....

## **APPENDIX D**

### **INTERVIEW SCHEDULE ONE**

#### **Personal information**

Please tell me about yourself. Age, family, cultural affiliation, interests, etc.

#### **Professional information**

How long have you been working in the field of education? As a teacher? Principal? What are your qualifications? Describe your preparation for the principalship.

#### **School information**

Tell me about this school. Student/staff numbers, composition, brief history, etc.

## **APPENDIX E**

### **INTERVIEW SCHEDULE TWO**

#### **Metaphors**

1. How would you describe this school to people who have never been here before?

#### **Purpose**

2. Tell me about this school.
3. What are the purposes of this school? Tell me about the purposes of this school.
4. Do you think the purposes of this school differ from the purposes of a school enrolling non-indigenous students? How?

#### **Role (leadership)**

5. What is/are your roles?
6. Do you see your role(s) here changing over time?
7. What part does leadership play in your role?
8. What is leadership?
9. What can you tell me about leadership in this school?
10. What is like to be principal here?
11. Who are the other leaders here?
12. What are the moderators on leadership behaviour here?
13. Are there constraints on leadership here? Why do you say that? What are the constraints?
14. Do you have time for educational leadership?
15. What are some of the expectations of an educational leader in this school?
16. Are there opportunities for leadership here? Can you comment on them?
17. Could you list some of the desired attributes/qualities of an educational leader for this school?
18. Would you say those would be the same attributes one would find in a non-indigenous school in the wider society?
19. A principal made this statement to me at one time. Educational leadership is the same in all schools. What you want to do is to help students become the best they can be. How you go about it is different. Please comment on this statement.
20. Can you suggest ways in which leadership qualities in indigenous schools contribute to ensuring competencies and skills in both home cultures and cultures outside the home?

#### **Power**

21. What can you tell me about the nature of power and authority in this school?
22. How would you describe the differences between power and authority?
23. Who are the powerbrokers in the school (community?)



**Problems/challenges**

24. Tell me about the problems/challenges needing to be addressed in this school community.
25. Could you prioritize them for me?
26. Can you suggest any that may be unique to this school?
27. What's the worst thing that's ever happened in your school?
28. If you could change one thing in this school what would it be?
29. What's the best thing that's ever happened in your school?

**Community**

30. How is your school part of this community?
31. Is it important to involve the community?
32. How would you describe this school's relationship with the community?
33. To what extent are they pleased with what goes on here?

**Values**

34. What do you believe is the most important thing about this school?
35. What have been the most important things you've dealt with in the last week (month)?
36. How do you help others (staff, parents, students, community) understand your values?
37. What are you most proud of here at the school?
38. What's your vision for the school?

**Context**

39. What sort of influences are felt here in the school?
40. Describe your preparation for the principalship.
41. Would you say the nature of leadership is different here or is it the same in other contexts, other environments?
42. How do you involve staff?
43. How do you get consensus?
44. Is it necessary for school leaders to be visionary?